615 claimed to be connected with the Cane. According to another old man, however, the Mink was akin to the Beaver. Jackson Lewis, one of the best of my informants, affirmed that the Cane clan was "kindred to and nearly the same as the Raccoon clan," while an old Seminole connected it with the Beaver and Potato. When we remember that the Raccoon and Potato were often classed together we see a reason for the association of this set of clans—Mink, Cane, Beaver, Raccoon, and Potato. According to another informant, the Cane clan in Kealedji was associated with the Mole, Raccoon, Potato, Fox, and Łidjamalgi clans, which agrees with the statement of Jackson Lewis; but I learned that in the Hitchiti town among the Seminole it was placed in one group with the Deer, Panther, and Pahosâlgi. This would be an altogether different classification from that given by the others. According to Jackson Lewis, the Hickorynut clan was kindred to the Eagle. The Tcowastâlgi were either identical with the Potato clan or, what is more probable, closely associated with it. At some period in the not remote past the Fox and Daddy-longlegs clans are said to have united into one which afterwards received the name Raccoon. This did not involve the Texas Alabama, and in any case can only have meant that the Fox and Daddy-longlegs combined with an already existing Raccoon clan.[14] The Yanasâlgi are thought, for what reason I know not, to have belonged among the Tciloki clans to be discussed presently. Nothing more has been preserved regarding the connection of this clan, or the affiliations of the Atciâlgi, Okilisâlgi, Sidjotcâpkâlgi, or Wałakâlgi, while, as we have seen, those of the Sulâlgi and Muklasâlgi are in doubt. The name Okilisâlgi is, uncertainly, said to refer to the weevil (âtci-suklaitcâ), but this seems rather far-fetched and Gatschet's suggestion that it was an attempt at "English" is attractive in view of the seeming identification of a Spanish clan.[15]

615 Before giving an account of the other clan associations—(2) and
614 (3)—it will be necessary to explain a Creek institution which has
621 an important bearing on this question. At the time of the annual ceremonial called the busk it was customary for each clan, or each set of clans considering themselves related, to hold a council and listen to an address from its oldest or ablest "uncle" (pawa), who reviewed the events of the preceding year, praised those who had done well, and reprimanded and even threatened those who had done badly. It sometimes happened, however, that a clan was too weak in numbers to maintain a council of its own, in which case it would examine the speakers of the different councils and, choosing one who appeared to be particularly good, its leaders would approach the leaders of that particular council and say, "We will be with you and join you in your councils." Children brought up together and catechised together in this manner usually considered themselves brothers and sisters and it was not thought right for them to intermarry, but the

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[14] See p. 144.

[15] Gatschet, Creek Mig. Leg., vol. 1, p. 155; Ms. vocab.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

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rule appears not to have been maintained with absolute rigidity in the cases of the large, well-recognized clans which might happen to be reduced sometimes to the necessity of resorting to this expedient. Nevertheless the institution tended toward the development of exogamous bodies differing considerably in composition in the different towns, and it is no doubt accountable for the peculiar inconsistencies among them already noted.

In the subjoined list I give the clan councils in all of the Creek and Seminole towns from which I was able to obtain information. Some towns are so nearly extinct that mistakes have undoubtedly been made, but the list embodies the best information to be had. Where two informants have been consulted and the testimony of these has differed considerably I have inserted the conflicting lists, numbering them (1) and (2).

CLAN COUNCILS BY TOWNS

UPPER CREEKS

White towns

Talladega:
1. Raccoon, Aktayatci.
2. Bear.
3. Wind.
4. Bird.
5. Alligator, Beaver.[16]
6. Deer.
7. Panther.

Abihka-in-the-West:
1. Bird, Alligator, Beaver.
2. Bear, Panther, Wind.
3. Deer.
4. Raccoon.

Kan-tcati:
1. Potato, Raccoon.
2. Deer.
3. Panther.
4. Wind.
5. Bear.
6. Alligator.
7. Bird.
8. Beaver (but perhaps placed with the Bird).

Otciapofa:
1. Panther.
2. Potato.
3. Tâmi.
4. Wind.
5. Pahosa.
6. Beaver.

Otciapofa—Continued.
7. Bear.
8. Aktayatci.
9. Raccoon.
10. Deer.

Tulsa Little River:[17]
1. Bird, Eagle.
2. Deer, Pahosa, Panther, Kapitca(?).[18]
3. Wildcat.
4. Potato.
5. Raccoon.
6. Aktayatci.
7. Wind.
8. Bear.
9. Beaver.
10. Otter.[19]

Lutcapoga (1):
1. Potato, Raccoon.
2. Alligator, Tâmi.
3. Aktayatci.
4. Bird.
5. Beaver.
6. Bear.
7. Wind.
8. Deer.

Lutcapoga (2)
1. Raccoon, Potato, Tcowasta, Panther.
2. Aktayatci. Kapitca, Eagle.
3. Bear, Bird, Beaver.[20]
4. Wind.

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[16] The number of Beaver people in this town was very small.

[17] The Turkey was also represented here, but its relations are unknown.

[18] The classification of the Kapitca in this group seems very doubtful. One informant also separated the Pahosa from it, but with less reason, as may be seen if we compare the associations of the Deer and Pahosa in other places.

[19] The presence of an Otter clan here depends on the testimony of one informant, although a very good one, who stated that in this town, unlike some others, the Beaver and Otter people intermarried.

[20] In the Tulsa towns, unlike most others, the Beaver and Bird seem to have preserved their independence and therefore informant 2 is probably wrong. Which informant is right regarding the Bird and Bear it is impossible for me to determine.

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Okfuskee:
1. Potato, Raccoon.
2. Alligator, Turkey, Tâmi.
3. Deer, Pahosa.
4. Bear.
5. Bird.
6. Beaver.
7. Wind.
8. Panther.
9. Aktayatci.

Abihkutci:
1. Potato, Raccoon, Fox, Aktayatci, Woksi, Eagle, Kapitca.
2. Wind, Skunk.
3. Bear, Wolf.
4. Bird, Beaver.
5. Alligator, Tâmi, Turkey.
6. Deer, Pahosa, Mole.
7. Panther, Wildcat.

Nuyaka:
1. Bear.
2. Wind.
3. Bird.
4. Beaver.
5. Deer.
6. Panther.
7. Alligator.
8. Raccoon.

Pakan tallahassee (1):
1. Bird, Bear, Wolf.
2. Wind, Aktayatci.[21]
3. Panther, Wildcat.
4. Deer.
5. Raccoon.
6. Alligator, Tâmi, Turkey(?).

Pakan tallahassee (2):
1. Bird, Bear, Beaver, Alligator, Tâmi, Turkey.
2. Wind, Skunk.
3. Deer.
4. Raccoon.
5. Panther.
6. Aktayatci.

Wiogufki (1):
1. Raccoon, Potato(?).
2. Alligator, Tâmi, Snake.
3. Bird, Pahosa.
4. Kapitca, Aktayatci.
5. Wind.
6. Beaver.
7. Bear.
8. Deer.

Wiogufki (2):
1. Bear, Beaver, Bird, Alligator, Tâmi, Turkey.
2. Raccoon, Potato.
3. Aktayatci.
4. Wind.
5. Panther, Wildcat.

Asilanabi:
1. Bird, Bear, Beaver, Alligator, Turkey, Tâmi, Deer(?).[21a]
2. Raccoon, Potato.
3. Panther.[21a]
4. Wind.
5. Aktayatci.

(Okchai and Łálogálga were probably the same as Asilanabi.)

Wiwohka:
1. Raccoon, Potato, Tcowasta, Kapitca.
2. Panther, Wildcat.
3. Wind, Skunk.
4. Bear, Bird, Wolf.
5. Alligator, Turkey, Tâmi, Snake, Beaver.
6. Deer, Pahosa.
7. Aktayatci.[22]

Tuskegee:[23]
1. Beaver, Alligator, Tâmi.
2. Potato, Raccoon, Aktayatci.
3. Panther, Wildcat.
4. Bird.
5. Wind.
6. Bear.

Koasati No. 2:
1. Wind, Bear (and all Whites).
2. Raccoon, Alligator, Beaver, Bird, Panther, Deer, Aktayatci, Daddy-longlegs (and all Tcilokî).

Red towns

Tukabahchee:
1. Panther, Wildcat, Aktayatci.
2. Raccoon, Eagle.[24]
3. Potato, Fox.
4. Alligator, Turkey, Tâmi, Woksi.
5. Wind, Skunk
6. Deer.
7. Bird, Beaver, Otter.[25]
8. Bear.

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[21] The association of the Wind and Aktayatci seems improbable.

[21a] But see p. 149 for a probable Deer-Panther association at Okchai.

[22] The Aktayatci perhaps belong in group 1.

[23] Speck notes in this town also the Deer, Fox, Mink, Snake, Buzzard, Skunk, and Rabbit clans.

[24] Some place the Potato in this group.

[25] There is some uncertainty as to the position of the Otter.

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Atasi (very defective):
1. Alligator, Turkey.
2. Bear.
3. Wind.
4. Bird, Beaver (?).
5. Aktayatci.
6. Panther.
7. Deer.
8. Raccoon, Potato.

Kealedji:
1. Mole, Raccoon, Potato,[26] Fox, Lidjâmi, Kohasa.
2. Skunk, Wind.
3. Alligator, Tâmi, Turkey, Woksi.
4. Aktayatci.
5. Bear, Wolf.
6. Bird, Beaver.
7. Deer.
8. Panther.

Lapláko:[27]
1. Pahosa, Deer.
2. Beaver, Bear, Bird.[28]
3. Panther, Wildcat.
4. Aktayatci, Kapitca (?).
5. Raccoon.
6. Alligator, Tâmi, Turkey.
7. Wind.

Hilibi:
1. Raccoon, Potato.
2. Alligator, Turkey, Tâmi.
3. Aktayatci.
4. Bear, Wolf.
5. Bird.
6. Deer.

Upper Eufaula:[29]
1. Aktayatci, Potato, Raccoon.
2. Wind, Skunk.
3. Bear, Wolf, Bird (?).
4. Panther.
5. Deer.
6. Tâmi, Turkey, Alligator.

Alabama (1):
1. Aktayatci, Deer.
2. Bear.
3. Wind.
4. Beaver.

Alabama (2):
1. Alligator, Wind, Bird, Turkey, Aktayatci.[30]
2. Bear, Salt, Panther,[31] Wildcat.[31]

Alabama in Texas:
1. Deer, Wolf.[32]
2. Panther, Wildcat.
3. Bear, Salt.
4. Alligator, Daddy-longlegs, Beaver, Turkey.
5. Wind, Skunk.

LOWER CREEKS

White towns

Kasihta:[33]
1. Potato, Tâmi, Aktayatci, Alligator, Fox, Raccoon, Beaver.
2. Wind, Fish (?).
3. Bear, Wolf.
4. Panther.
5. Deer.[34]
6. Mole.

Hitchiti:
1. Pahosa, Mole, Deer.
2. Bird, Beaver, Alligator, Tâmi, Snake, Otter, Aktayatci.
3. Potato.
4. Panther.
5. Bear.
6. Wind

Okmulgee:[35]
1. Tâmi, Alligator.
2. Deer, Panther.
3. Bear, Wolf.
4. Beaver, Bird.
5. Potato, Raccoon, Aktayatci, Fox.
6. Wind.

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[26] According to one informant the Potato belonged in group 3.

[27] There were also some of the Potato clan; associations unknown.

[28] An inferior informant classified the Bird and Bear separately.

[29] The Beaver clan was also represented here formerly; it sat with the Wind, Bear, Wolf, and Bird, but whether it was linked with any or all of these is uncertain.

[30] The association of Aktayatci and Wind seems improbable, but one other case of the kind has been noted (see Pakan tallahassee).

[31] There were very few representatives of these clans in Alabama.

[32] The only representatives of the Wolf clan living in 1912 were descended from the Pascagoula tribe of Indians.

[33] The Bird clan was also represented in this town, but I did not obtain its linkage, though it sat with the Deer.

[34] Sat with 1 but could intermarry with them.

[35] Legus Perryman, probably referring to this town, said that the Raccoon, Aktayatci, and Alligator formed one council, a statement which, if true, would bring 1 and 5 together. The late David Hodge, who belonged to Okmulgee, declared that the Bird, Deer, and Aktayatci clans were all related, the women of these clans calling each other "sisters." This was denied by Perryman and seems improbable in the light of what we know of these clans elsewhere, although it is possible that the first two were so connected.

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Apalachicola:
1. Panther, Wildcat, Deer, Mole, Toad.
2. Bird, Snake, Alligator, Turkey, Tâmi, Beaver, Kapitca.
3. Wind.
4. Bear, Wolf.
5. Raccoon, Potato.
6. Aktayatci.

Yuchi:
1. Bear, Wolf.
2. Deer, Wind, Skunk, Panther, Wildcat.
3. Alligator, Fish, Beaver.
4. Bird.

Red towns

Coweta (1):
1. Deer, Panther, Wildcat.
2. Bird, Beaver.
3. Raccoon, Fox, Potato, Tâmi, Aktayatci, Alligator, Turkey.
4. Wind.
5. Bear.

Coweta (2):
1. Deer, Panther, Wildcat.
2. Bird, Beaver, Wind, Bear.
3. Raccoon, Fox, Potato, Tâmi, Aktayatci, Alligator, Turkey.

Lower Eufaula:
1. Wind, Otter, Skunk, Mole, Tcokote, Toad(?).
2. Bear, Nokfaha, Wolf, Salt, Fresh-land, Asunwa.
3. Aktayatci, Kapitca, Snake, Alligator, Woksi.
4. Bird, Beaver, Tâmi.
5. Deer, Pahosa, Turkey, Panther, Wildcat.
6. Fox, Raccoon, Potato.

Chiaha:
1. Raccoon, Potato, Fox, Aktayatci.
2. Wolf, Bear, Deer(?).
3. Panther.
4. Bird.
5. Wind, Skunk, Fish.
6. Beaver.
7. Alligator, Tâmi.

Osochi:

(All that is known is that the Panther and Wildcat and the Bear and Wolf did not intermarry.)

SEMINOLE TOWNS

White towns

Ochesee:
1. Aktayatci, Alligator, Snake, Kapitca.
2. Wind, Otter.
3. Bear, Wolf.
4. Potato, Bird, Beaver, Raccoon(?).
5. Panther.
6. Deer.

Okfuskee:
1. Bird, Beaver.
2. Bear, Deer, Pahosa, Potato, Raccoon.
3. Alligator, Snake, Kapitca, Aktayatci.
4. Panther.
5. Wind.

Tallahasutci:
1. Beaver, Potato.
2. Tâmi, Alligator, Turkey.
3. Aktayatci, Kapitca, Snake.
4. Wind (possibly with last).
5. Bear.
6. Bird.
7. Deer, Panther.

Hitchiti Seminole:
1. Wind, Skunk, Otter.
2. Bird, Aktayatci, Snake, Alligator, Tâmi.
3. Deer, Panther, Kohosa (Cane?), Pahosa.
4. Bear, Wolf.
5. Toad, Tcokote, Mole.
6. Beaver, Potato.

Red towns

Eufaula:
1. Alligator, Tâmi, Turkey, Kapitca, Snake, Aktayatci.
2. Deer (probably including the Pahosa).
3. Raccoon.
4. Potato.
5. Panther.
6. Wind.
7. Bear.[illegible]
8. Bird.[illegible]

[illegible] There were a few people of the Bird clan and one belonging to the Bear which had not been definitely placed, perhaps because in recent years no occasion had arisen which demanded definite allocation.

Chiaha:

1. Wind, Skunk.
2. Raccoon, Fox.
3. Potato.
4. Bird.
5. Bear.
6. Aktayatci.
7. Alligator.
8. Deer.
9. Beaver.

Łiwahali:

1. Beaver, Otter, Bird, Turkey, Tâmi, Bear, Salt. 615
2. Wind. 614
3. Deer, Pahosa. 621
4. Potato, Raccoon.[37]
5. Panther.
6. Aktayatci, Alligator, Snake, Kapitca.

Mikasuki: (Unobtainable.)

The facts are now before us; let us proceed to an analysis of them. In the following table I have recorded the number of times each association of any two clans takes place, and the number of times any two clans are recorded in each town unassociated. UC stands for "Upper Creeks," A for "Alabama," K for "Koasati," LC for "Lower Creeks," H for "Hitchiti," Y for "Yuchi," and S for "Seminole." To. = "Total." 615

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[37] Another informant stated that the Potato and Raccoon clans were anciently classed with the Bird.

One of these two moieties was called Hathagálgi, "White people" or "White clans," while the other was usually known as Tcilokogálgi, "People of a different speech," a term also applied to tribes like the Hitchiti, Alabama, and Yuchi, which do not use the Muskogee language. This latter was also known by certain alternative terms or nicknames. One of these is said to have been Sahanálgi, and is affirmed to have been an old name which my informant thought had reference to some sort of yell. Another nickname was Laksafáskálgi, which is, however, applied to the tástánágálgi or leading warriors, the Deer clan, in Pakan tallahassee. A single informant told me that they sometimes called themselves Laslagálgi, "Blacks," but according to another this was a term which a man sometimes bestowed in jest on his own clan. Again, we have the term Askā'málgi, the meaning of which I did not obtain. By others the word Hola'tági or Hola'tálgi was used. In the Apalachee dialect and in Timucua hola'ta meant "chief." One informant stated, however, that this was applied to an arbor or cabin at the square grounds where all kinds of clans were mixed together. According to the same man the Hathagálgi were too much respected to be the subject of nicknames, yet I heard from still another quarter that they were called Isti alumba, which seems to mean "people who stick or adhere together," in contradistinction to the Isti tciloki, "people of a different speech." The respect above indicated was directed particularly to the Wind clan, as we shall see when we come to speak of punishments. This clan enjoyed privileges like those of a superior caste. 616 [619]

One of the oldest of the Tukabahchee Indians told me the following short myth which contains some native speculations regarding the origin of the ball game and ball game costume and at the same time the origin of the dual division of clans. 616 773 539 526

"Once upon a time the animals that walk on land played against everything in the air, and they disputed as to the position of the bat. The land animals said 'Let him go up with you,' but the air creatures did not want him. They disputed about him for some time, for neither side would take him, but finally he went with the animals. When the game took place he proved so quick and was able to fly and dart about so easily that he enabled the land animals to win. Just as the animals dressed at that time the people who played ball dressed in later times, and it was then perhaps that the division between Whites and Tcilokis began."

There is a somewhat longer version of this story in the Tuggle collection, but no deductions regarding dress or customs are drawn from it.

Just as the linking of clans disagrees in different towns, so does the line of division between these two sets of clans differ, and the following table shows how the clans were divided in each town and at the 621 616 101

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same time from what town or towns each clan was reported. Numbers after the W and Tc tell how the clans were associated in phratries within the town, the 1's being in one phratry, the 2's in another, and so on.

TABULATION OF CREEK TOWNS, CLANS, AND MOIETIES

UPPER CREEKS (WHITE TOWNS)

Town	Wind	Bear	Bird	Beaver	Alligator	Deer	Panther	Raccoon	Aktayatci
Talladega	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(4)	W(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(7).
Abihka (near Eufaula)	W	W	W		W	Tc	Tc	Tc	Tc.
Abihka-in-the-West	W(1)	W(1)	Tc(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(3)	Tc(1)	Tc(4)	
Kan-tcati	W(1)	W(2)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(8)	
Otciapofa	W(1)	W(2)		Tc(3)		Tc(4)	W(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7).
Tulsa Little River	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(4)		Tc(5)	W(5)	?(6)	Tc(7).
Lutcapoga	?(1)	?(2)	?(2)	?(3)	?(4)	?(5)	?(6)	?(6)	?(7).
Okfuskee	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(8)	Tc(9).
Tcatoksofka	W	W	W	W	Tc	Tc	Tc	Tc	
Abihkutci	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(7).
Nuyaka	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(8)	
Talmutcasi	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Pakan tallahassee	W(1)	W(2)	W(2)	W(2)	W(2)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6?).
Wiogufki	W(1)	W(2)	W(2)	W(2)	W?(2)	Tc(3)	W?(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6).
Tukpafka	W			W		Tc	Tc	Tc	
Asilanabi	W(1)	W(2)	W(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(2?)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)
Okchai (probably same connections).	W	W	W	W	W	Tc		Tc	Tc.
Łálogálga	?					?		?	
Wiwohka	?(1)	?(2)	?(2)	?(3)	?(3)	?(4)	(?5)	?(6)	?(7 perhaps 6).
Tuskegee	W(1)	W(2)	?(3)	W(4)	Tc?(4)		Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc?(6).
Koasati No. 2	W(1)	W(1)	Tc(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(2).

Town	Wolf	Potato	Pahosa	Támi	Kapitca	Eagle	Turkey	Snake
Talladega								
Abihka (near Eufaula)	W							
Abihka-in-the-West								
Kan-tcati		Tc(8)						
Otciapofa		Tc(8)	W(9)	Tc(10)				
Tulsa Little River		?(8)	?(5)		Tc(5)	?(3)	Tc(9)(?)	
Lutcapoga		?(6)		?(4)	?(7)	?(7)		
Okfuskee		Tc(8)	Tc(6)	Tc(5)			Tc(5)	
Tcatoksofka						W	Tc	
Abihkutci	W(2)	Tc(7)	Tc(5)	Tc(4)	Tc(7)	Tc(7)	Tc(4)	
Nuyaka								
Talmutcasi		?						
Pakan tallahassee	W(2)			W(2?)			W(2?)	
Wiogufki		Tc(5)		W?(2)	Tc(6)		W?(2)	Tc(2).
Tukpafka		Tc						
Asilanabi		Tc(4)		Tc(2)			Tc(2)	
Okchai (probably same connections).				W			W	
Łálogálga								
Wiwohka	?(2)	?(6)	?(4)	?(3)	?(6)		?(3)	?(3).
Tuskegee		Tc(6)		Tc(4)				
Koasati No. 2								

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TABULATION OF CREEK TOWNS, CLANS, AND MOIETIES—Continued

UPPER CREEKS (WHITE TOWNS)—Continued

Town	Fox	Woksi	Skunk	Mole	Wildcat	Otter	Tco-wasta	Tapasola
Talladega								
Abihka (near Eufaula)								
Abihka-in-the-West								
Kan-tcati								
Otciapofa								
Tulsa Little River					?(9)	Tc(10)		
Lutcapoga							?(1)	
Okfuskee								
Tcatoksofka								
Abihkutci	Tc(7)	Tc?(7)	W(1)	Tc?(5)	Tc(6)			
Nuyaka								
Tałmutcasi								
Pakan tallahassee			W(1)		Tc(4)			
Wiogufki								
Tukpafka								
Asilanabi						W(2)?		
Okchai (probably same connections).								
Łałogalga								
Wiwohka			?(1)		?(5)		?(6)	
Tuskegee					Tc(5)			
Kosati No. 2								Tc(2).

UPPER CREEKS (RED TOWNS)

Town	Wind	Bear	Bird	Beaver	Alligator	Deer	Panther	Raccoon	Aktayatci
Tukabahchee	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(6).
Atasi	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(3?)	W(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(8).
Kealedji	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	W(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(4).
Łaplako	W(1)	Tc(2)	W(2?)	W(2?)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7).
Łiwahali	W	W	W		Tc?	Tc	Tc		Tc.
Hilibi		W(1)	W(2)	?	Tc(3)	Tc(4) [W(4) (J. L.)]		Tc(5)	Tc(6).
Eufaula (Upper)	W(1)	W(2?)	W(2?)	W(?)	W(6)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)[1]	Tc(5)	Tc(5).
Alabama	W(1)	W(2)	Tc(3)	Tc(5)	Tc(3?). W[2]	Tc(4)	Tc(2)		Tc(4).
Alabama in Texas	?(1)	?(2)		?(3)	?(3)	?(4)	?(5)		

Town	Wolf	Potato	Pahosa	Tâmi	Kapitca	Eagle	Turkey	Fox
Tukabahchee		Tc(8)		Tc(4)		Tc(7)	Tc(4)	Tc(8).
Atasi		Tc(7?)		Tc(4?)			Tc(4)	
Kealedji	W(2)	Tc(7)		Tc(4)			Tc(4)	Tc(7).
Łaplako		Tc(?)	Tc(4)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)		Tc(3)	
Łiwahali								?
Hilibi	W(1)	Tc(5)		Tc(3)			Tc(3)	
Eufaula (Upper)	W	Tc(3)		W(6)			W(6)	
Alabama							Tc(3?)	
Alabama in Texas	?(4)						?(3)	

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[1] Formerly it is said to have been White.

[2] According to Billy Yahola.

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Tabulation of Creek Towns, Clans, and Moieties—Continued

UPPER CREEKS (RED TOWNS)—Continued

Town	Woksi	Skunk	Mole	Wildcat	Snake	Otter	Łidjámi	Fish
Tukabahchee	Tc(4)	W(1)		Tc(6)				
Atasi								
Kealedji	Tc(4)	W(1)	Tc(7)				Tc(7)	
Łapláko				Tc(5)				
Łiwahali								
Hilibi								
Eufaula (Upper)		W(1)						
Alabama				Tc(2)				
Alabama in Texas		?(1)		?(5)				

Town	Toad	Cane	Tcokote	Salt	Nokfaha	Kantali	Asunwa	Tapasola
Tukabahchee								
Atasi								
Kealedji		Tc(7)						
Łapłako								
Łiwahali								
Hilibi								
Eufaula (Upper)								
Alabama				W(2)				
Alabama in Texas				?(2)				?(3).

LOWER CREEKS (WHITE TOWNS)

Town	Wind	Bear	Bird	Beaver	Alligator	Deer	Panther	Raccoon	Aktayatci
Kasihta	W(1)	W(2)	W?	Tc(3)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(3)	Tc(3).
Hitchiti	W(1)	W(2)	Tc(3)	W(3)	?(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)		Tc(3)
Okmulgee	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	Tc(2)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(6).
Apalachicola	W(1)	W(2)	Tc(3)	Tc(3)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(4)	Tc(6)	Tc(5?).
Yuchi	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(4)	W(4)	Tc(1)	Tc(1)		

Town	Wolf	Potato	Pahosa	Támi	Kapitca	Eagle	Turkey	Fox
Kasihta	W(2)	Tc(3)		Tc(3)				Tc(3).
Hitchiti		Tc(6)	Tc(4)					
Okmulgee	W(2)	Tc(6)		Tc(4)				Tc(6).
Apalachicola	W(2)	Tc(6?)		Tc(3)	Tc(3)		Tc(3)	
Yuchi	W(2)							

Town	Woksi	Skunk	Mole	Wildcat	Snake	Otter	Łidjámi	Fish
Kasihta			Tc?(6)	Tc(5) ?				W?(1).
Hitchiti			Tc(4)		Tc(3)			
Okmulgee				Tc(5)				
Apalachicola			Tc(4)	Tc(4)	Tc(3)			
Yuchi		W(1)		Tc(1?)				W(4).

Town	Toad	Cane	Tcokote	Salt	Nokfaha	Kantali	Asunwa	Tapasola
Kasihta								
Hitchiti								
Okmulgee								
Apalachicola	Tc?(4)							
Yuchi								

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Seminole NN16

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Tabulation of Creek Towns, Clans, and Moieties—Continued

LOWER CREEKS (RED TOWNS)

Town	Wind	Bear	Bird	Beaver	Alligator	Deer	Panther	Raccoon	Aktayatci
Coweta	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(5)	Tc(4)	Tc(4).
Łikatcka	?	W			?	Tc	?		?.
Eufaula Hobayi	?(1)	Tc(2)	?(3)	?(3)	W(4)	?(5)	?(5)	?(6)	?(4).
Chiaha	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(4)	Tc(5)	W(2?)	Tc(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(7).
Osochi	?	?(1)	?	?	?	?	?(2)	?	?.

Town	Wolf	Potato	Pahosa	Támi	Kapitca	Eagle	Turkey	Fox
Coweta		Tc(4)		Tc(4)				Tc(4).
Łikatcka								
Eufaula Hobayi	?(2)	?(6)	?(5)	?(3)	?(4)	?(5)	?(6)	
Chiaha	W(2)	Tc(7)		Tc(5)				Tc(7).
Osochi	?(1)	?			?			?.

Town	Woksi	Skunk	Mole	Wildcat	Snake	Otter	Łidjámi	Fish
Coweta				Tc(5)				
Łikatcka								
Eufaula Hobayi	?(4)	?(1)	?(1)	?(5)	?(4)	?(1)		
Chiaha		W(1)			Tc?(3?)			W?(?).
Osochi				?(2)				

Town	Toad	Cane	Tcokote	Salt	Nokfaha	Kantali	Asunwa	Tapasola
Coweta								
Łikatcka								
Eufaula Hobayi	?(1)		?(1)	?(2)	?(2)	?(2)	?(2)	
Chiaha								
Osochi								

SEMIÑOLE TOWNS 1/A

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Town	Wind	Bear	Bird	Beaver	Alligator	Deer	Panther	Raccoon	Aktayatci
Ochesee	W?(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	(W)(3?)	Tc(4).
Okfuskee	?(1)	?(2)	?(3)	?(3)	?(4)	?(2)	?(5)	?(2)	?(4).
Tallahassutci	Tc(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(6)		Tc(6).
Hitchiti	?(1)	?(2)	?(3)	?(4)	?(3)	?(5)	?(5)		?(3).
Eufaula	?(1)	?(2)	?(3)		?(4)	?(5)	?(6)	?(7)	?(4).
Łiwahali	W(1)	W(2)	W(2)	W(2)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(3)
Chiaha	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(4)	Tc(5)	Tc (6)		Tc(7)	Tc(8).
Mikasuki		?		?	?		?		

1/A [For key to symbols, see pp. 157-158, Category 116. -- Analyst

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TABULATION OF CREEK TOWNS, CLANS, AND MOIETIES—Continued

SEMINOLE TOWNS—Continued

Town	Wolf	Potato	Pahosa	Tâmi	Kapitca	Eagle	Turkey	Fox	Woksi
Ochesee	W(2)	W(3)			Tc(4)				
Okfuskee		?(2)	?(2)		?(4)				
Tallahasutci		?(4)		W?(5)	?(8)		?(5)		
Hitchiti	?(2)	?(4)	?(5)	?(3)					
Eufaula		?(8)	?(5)	?(4)	?(4)		?(4)		
Łiwahali		Tc(6)	Tc(4)	W(2)	Tc(3)		W(2)		
Chiaha		Tc(9)						Tc(7)	
Mikasuki		?							

Town	Skunk	Mole	Wildcat	Snake	Otter	Toad	Fish	Tookote	Salt	Cane
Ochesee				Tc(4)	W?(1)					
Okfuskee				?(4)						
Tallahasutci				Tc(8)						
Hitchiti	?(1)	?(6)		?(3)	?(1)	?(6)		?(6)		?(5).
Eufaula				?(4)						
Łiwahali				Tc(3)	W(2)				W(2)	
Chiaha	W(1)									
Mikasuki					?					

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On examining this list we find but one town in which the Wind are set down as Tcilokogálgi. This is the Seminole town of Tallahasutci and I believe the statement to be an error. The Seminole towns were built up from several different Creek towns and do not represent an old organization. Among other changes this institution of Whites and Tcilokis fell rapidly into decay, and for three of the towns I have been unable to get any information. Moreover, all of the old men of Tallahasutci are dead and, although I am sure that my informant tried to give correct information, he probably erred. The Bear occurs twice as Tciloki, in Eufaula Hobayi and Łapłáko. In the first case not much reliance is to be placed on the information, since the town has long given up its square and my informant merely said in a general way that the Bear were the Tciloki and the Alligator the Whites. The information regarding Łapłáko was, however, from one of my oldest informants and was furnished in a positive manner without hesitation. It is true that in the sister town of Łiwahali the Bear is given as White, but my Łiwahali informant was a comparatively young man, and the Łiwahali square was given up much before that of Łapłáko. In accordance with the history of the Creek towns, as worked out in another place,[52a] Łapłáko and Łiwahali would seem to have represented a division more ancient than the Tukabahchee, Eufaula, or many other groups of towns upon the Red side, and it is quite likely that the assignment of the Bear to the Tciloki was peculiar to them. In the same towns

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[52a] Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 254-258.

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the Bird and Beaver are White. This is their usual classification, but my lists show that they were Tciloki in Alabama, Koasati, Apalachicola and two of the Abihka towns. That they were actually Tciloki in Alabama is attested by several informants within and without that town, and one of my interpreters, himself a Tukabahchee, recalled, as a subject of general amusement, that when a ball game was to be played the Bird clan in Alabama sided against the Whites. If the Bird and Beaver were Whites in Alabama they were probably Whites in Koasati also, the two towns having been close together and being related in language. It is also probable that this difference obtained among the Hitchiti. It is true that in Okmulgee the Bird appear as White and the Beaver as Tciloki and in Hitchiti proper the Beaver as White and the Bird as Tciloki, but my authorities for this were much younger than the one for Apalachicola and their squares were among the first to be given up. In two of the four Abihka towns the Bird and Beaver would seem to have been White and in two Tciloki. The information with respect to Talladega, in which the two are Whites, should have been the most correct, since that square is still maintained; since the Bird and Beaver seem to be Tciloki among the tribes incorporated into the Creeks, perhaps the disturbance in some Abihka towns may have been due to the Natchez who settled with them. The Beaver are also given as Tciloki in Otciapofa and Kasihta. In the latter place this seems to have been a late arrangement, due to the fact that there were no Birds, and the three Beaver were seated with the Potato clan and hence classed on the same side with them. Something like this may be the secret of the change at Otciapofa. Another reason is suggested by the case of Asilanabi, where the Beaver was also Tciloki although the Bird was White. My information was from the medicine maker of Asilanabi and Łáłogálga and is probably correct. It appears that the anomaly was due in part at least to the association of the Beaver with water animals like the Alligator.

But sometimes the association of the Alligator and Beaver seems to have worked in the opposite direction, the Alligator being placed among the Whites. From my notes this would appear to have been the case at Talladega, the old Abihka town near Eufaula, Oklahoma, at Pakan tallahassee, Wiogufki, Okchai, Atasi, Eufaula Hobayi, and Yuchi. While some of these cases do not rest on altogether satisfactory information there can be no doubt that such a classification occurred at times. We have no means of knowing whether it was characteristic of the Creeks in olden days or is a later innovation. The Deer clan is said, on the best authority obtainable, to have been reckoned a White clan in Chiaha, and this, according to an Indian of the neighboring Coweta town, was because it was there associated with the Bird. It might also be mentioned that in Tukabahchee the

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Deer were employed as henihas during the women's dance, and the henihas, as we shall see, were connected with peace. In Otciapofa the Pahosa are said to have been not merely Whites but the leading clan among the Whites, and as the Pahosa and Deer were uniformly linked together the condition noted in Chiaha may have been duplicated in Otciapofa. The Panther clan is given as White in Otciapofa, Little River Tulsa, Wiogufki, and Kealedji, the evidence in the last case being particularly good. Although the Panther is to-day almost always regarded as Tciloki some of my oldest and best informants, including Jackson Lewis and Big Jack of Hilibi, asserted positively that it was properly a White clan. According to the latter it was a White clan which had been turned over to the Tciloki to make their numbers even with the numbers of the Whites. Referring back to the origin myths it is seen that corroborative evidence may be adduced from that source.[53] If the Panther was anciently White it is to be presumed that the Wildcat was White also, but of this I have no certain knowledge. The Potato and Raccoon were said by one of my very best informants to have been reckoned as White clans in the Seminole town of Ochesee. While I am not prepared to deny the fact it would be so unique that I believe it must have been due to some later readjustment and does not represent an original condition. An informant reported that the Eagle was a White clan in Tcatoksofka but this was probably due to a mistaken association of the Eagle and Bird clans such as I have mentioned elsewhere.

Summing up, then, we find that the Wind and Bear are almost always White, the Raccoon, Aktayatci, and Potato almost always Tciloki, the Bird and Beaver Tciloki occasionally but usually White, the Alligator, Deer, and Panther White occasionally but usually Tciloki. The clans linked with each of these so constantly as to be reckoned subdivisions were considered of the same moiety.

At first sight it would seem as though the connection of the names of the White clans with peace were very remote, but "where there's a will there's a way," especially when it comes to ex post facto explanations, and here is how my good informant, Jackson Lewis, solved the enigma in connection with four of these.

"The Wind is considered a peace clan because the wind can drive away clouds, fogs, and so on, and bring on clear, pleasant weather for mankind. The name of the Bird clan is understood to apply to birds with white plumage, such as the crane, pelican, spring crane, etc. Crane feathers were borne by dancers belonging to White clans at Tukabahchee, while those of the other side carried eagle feathers. The Bear is a peace clan because the bear is regarded as exceedingly watchful and therefore useful in the interests of peace. The Wolf, as a branch of the Bear, is a peace clan because the Wolf is a close

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[53] See pp. 111-113.

observer, active and spare, and he forms a kind of outpost for the 616
Bear.”

An additional reason for the association of wind with peace is the 621 ●
myth that in the beginning of things, at the time when men were first separated into clans, it drove away the mists then enveloping them and revealed them to one another.[34a]

These two divisions have not had anything to do with marriage 616
regulations, at least in recent times. I was told that each formed 621
an exogamous group in Koasati, but the Koasati are so reduced in
numbers to-day that it is doubtful whether such information may be 582
relied upon. More important was the statement of Jackson Lewis that anciently members of White clans did not intermarry. However, he did not affirm that the same was true of the Tciloki, and his assertion remains practically unsupported. I have a few cases in which exogamous groups are reported including clans belonging to both sides, though further investigation may show this to be an error. Thus in Abihka-in-the-West the Wind and Bear, reported as usual to have been White, are said to have formed one phratry with the Panther which was given as Tciloki. In Asilanabi the Bear and Bird, which were Whites, were united with the Beaver and Alligator, which were Tciloki. In Tuskegee the White Beaver are said to have united with the Tciloki Alligator. In Łaplåko the Bear, Bird, and Beaver are said not to have intermarried, although the first is given as a Tciloki clan in this town and the other two as White clans. In Alabama the Bear and Panther are put together—the former a White clan, the latter a Tciloki. In Okmulgee and Hitchiti the Bird and Beaver are assigned to opposite sides but one phratry, though here, as stated above, I have reason to believe that they were both Tciloki. Among the Yuchi the Wind are said to have been Whites and the Deer and Panther Tciloki, while the three were in one exogamous group.

The White clans undoubtedly had to do with peace, while the others 616
were “bearers of the red sticks” and hence were war clans, but the 621
terms “peace and war” are not given to them as names, nor is the
adjective red usually coupled with the Tciloki. There is reason to 526
believe that this dual division had something to do with the dual division of towns to be considered presently, but it is now difficult to make out just what that connection was. At any rate they served one definite purpose, to determine the sides in practice games played within each town, the Whites and Tciloki always forming the two parties.

Among the Texas Alabama, where there has long been but a single 616
town or one or two related villages, practice games were all that could 621
be indulged in. It is to be supposed that in former times they had 526
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[34a] See pp. 111-112.

616 621 526 [177] the same dual division as the other Creeks, but it is now entirely forgotten. In later years, at all events, the men and women played against each other in the two-goal game, something unheard of among the Creeks proper and due without doubt to an entire breakdown of the ancient customs. I was also told that when the men did play against each other the Daddy-longlegs, Bear, and Deer "stood" the other clans. This, however, I believe to have been another modern device, and a suggestion of something more primitive is contained in the statement of one of my oldest informants to the effect that the fathers of the Bear, Salt, and Wind clans always played against the sons of those clans. The others, including evidently the men of those three clans, "divided up any way." The suggestiveness about this lies in the fact that among the Creeks the Bear, Salt, and Wind are usually considered White clans.

[535] As mentioned above, in the tcitahaia or "feather dance" eagle and buzzard feathers were carried by the Tciloki dancers and white crane feathers by those from White clans.

GENERAL REMARKS

614 582 Some general considerations are to be appended regarding the functions of Creek clans and clan aggregates and the customs connected with them. One of my informants remarked that "clans have everything to do with marriage," yet it is evident from what has been said above that in practically none of the towns were all of the exogamous groups identical with single clans. Another asserted that persons of the same clan in unrelated towns could marry, while if the towns were considered branches of one group they could not. This was, however, flatly denied by everyone else, all maintaining that marriage into the clan of the mother was absolutely prohibited, no matter whether the persons concerned belonged to the same town or lived hundreds of miles apart. Marriage into the father's clan was also held in disfavor, and it was said of a man who had done this, "He has fallen into his own [sofki] pot." This regulation was observed by the Texas Alabama as well as the Creeks proper. In ancient times the prohibition may have been more rigorous; later it covered only blood relatives in the father's clan. The assertion is made that marriage was prohibited with anyone related by blood, whether they belonged to the clans of the parents or not. According to some this took in all such persons with whom relationship could still be recognized; according to others it merely extended to the third degree. Such an extension might indeed have been anticipated from the fact that all children of men of the father's clan were called brothers and sisters and the individuals so designated might belong to any exogamous group throughout the tribe. It is said that a man was allowed to marry a woman of another town belonging

or less wealthy families make one, two, or three houses serve all their purposes as well as they can. 342

"The Lower Creeks or Seminoles are not so regular or ingenious in their building, either public or private. They have neither the Chunky-Yard nor Rotunda, and the Public Square is an imperfect one, having but two or three houses at furthest. Indeed they do not require it; as their towns are small, and consequently their councils just sufficient for the government or regulation of the town or little tribe: for in all great and public matters they are influenced by the Nation, or Upper Creeks. 344 361 621.

"Their private habitations consist generally of two buildings: one a large oblong house, which serves for a cook room, eating-house, and lodging-rooms, in three apartments under one roof; the other not quite so large, which is situated eight or ten yards distant, one end opposite the principal house. This is two stories high, of the same construction, and serving the same purpose with the granary or provision house of the Upper Creeks."[64] 342

Each of these groups of buildings was evidently occupied by one family, and we must suppose the houses of daughters—when they had establishments of their own, which was not always the case—were those adjoining in the same "block" or district. The houses of the more elaborate pattern have long been out of use and forgotten, with the removal of the Indians to Oklahoma (pl. 13, *c*). A corncrib of modest dimensions may still be found near some of the houses of the old type, and it is usually on the cleared space about the house. "The cookroom and winter lodging house" was the equivalent of the "hot house" of other writers, though the ancient form had perhaps been considerably altered. The ground plan of this house is usually described as roughly circular, but Romans, in comparing the dwellings of the Creeks with those of the Chickasaw and Choctaw, says: "They live nearly in the same kind of habitations as the two other nations already mentioned, except that their hot houses are not circular but oblong squares."[65] In ancient times a public and a private house of this character were shared by both Creeks and Cherokee, but in later years they were to some extent given up by the Creeks, who did not feel the need of them so keenly in their comparatively warm climate, while the Cherokee held to them much longer. [177]

Among the Alabama the yard (tă'ăle), that anciently surrounded every house, was roughly square but was broader in front of and behind the house than at the sides. The yard was not fenced in primitive times but was sedulously cleared of grass by means of hoes. Otherwise it was thought that sickness was likely to attack the [351 784]

household.

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[64] Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, pp. 54-56.

[65] Romans, Nat. Hist. E. and W. Florida, p. 96.

344 old coverings are never removed. they have, in most of their squares,
352 eight, ten and twelves coverings, laid one upon the other.

"The squares are generally made to face the east, west, north and
344 south. The centre cabin, on the east side,[88] is always allotted to the
[554] beloved, or first men of the town, and is called the beloved seat.
Three cabins, on the south side, belong to the most distinguished
warriors; and those on the north side, to the second men, etc. The
west side [89] is appropriated to hold the lumber apparatus used in cooking
[532 black-drink, war-physic, &c. On the post, or on a plank over each
of the cabins, are painted the emblems of the family to whom it is
614] allotted, to wit: the buffalo family have the buffalo painted on their
cabin; the bear has the bear, and so on.

"Up under the roofs of the houses are suspended a heterogeneous collection of emblems and trophies of peace and war, viz: eagles' feathers, swans' wings, wooden scalping knives, war-clubs, bundles of snake-root war-physic, baskets, etc.

[532] "Such posts and other timbers about the square as are smooth enough to admit of it, have a variety of rude paintings of warriors' heads with horns, horned rattlesnakes, horned alligators, etc.

●[621 "Some of the squares in the red or war-towns, which have always
been governed by warriors, are called painted squares, having all the
531] posts and smooth timber about them painted red, with white or black
edges. This is considered a peculiar and very honorary mark of
distinction. Some towns also have the privilege of a covered square,
which is nothing more than a loose scaffolding of canes laid on poles
over the whole of the area between the houses. Whence these
privileges arose, I could never learn; and it is a doubt with me if they
know themselves.

[574] "Travelling Indians, having no relations in the town, often sleep in the public square as they are passing on their journey. This is one of their ancient rites of hospitality. And poor old men and women, suffering for want of clothes, are entitled to sleep in the hot-houses of the town they live in, if they please.

"The square is the place for all public meetings, and the performance of all their principal warlike and religious ceremonies.

[704] "If a man dies in the town, the square is hung full of green boughs as tokens of mourning; and no black-drink is taken inside of it for four days.

"If a warrior or other Indian is killed from any town having a square, black-drink must be taken on the outside of the square; and every ceremony in its usual form is laid aside until satisfaction is had for the outrage.

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[88] This should read "west side" unless the square Swan is describing was different from all others except that of the Alabama.

[89] Or east side (?); see preceding note.

344 Some of the open-air features of the old ceremonial grounds have
346 been preserved in the Indian churches of modern times. (Pl. 1, *a* and *b*.)

177 The social and ceremonial structures and grounds of the Creeks
171 have thus undergone considerable changes both in evolution and subsequent devolution. It is probable, in fact quite certain, that those
344 above described were not the only types to be found in the South. What may be gleaned regarding the public buildings of the Cherokee, Natchez, Choctaw, Carolinian and Floridian tribes shows that, of the arbor style of building especially, there were several types. That in vogue in the Creek confederacy was probably standardized by the selection of one particular pattern and its subsequent adoption by a certain complex of tribes. Open arbors of different character were particularly in evidence in Florida and when the Creeks invaded that peninsula they found some of these in use and probably adopted them occasionally. Certain of these invaders, such as the Oconee, had not been incorporated with the other Creeks long and may themselves have had a distinct type of building, and these would have been more in evidence before the Creek war and the submergence of the earlier Seminole in the flood of Indians which poured into Florida after that struggle. It is perhaps one such that Bartram describes in a little Seminole town "on the banks of the little lake below Charlotia." He says:

"We were received and entertained friendly by the Indians, the chief of the village conducting us to a grand, airy pavilion in the centre of the village. It was four-square; a range of pillars or posts on each side supporting a canopy composed of Palmetto leaves, woven or thatched together, which shaded a level platform in the centre, that was ascended to from each side by two steps or flights, each about twelve inches high, and seven or eight feet in breadth, all covered with carpets or mats, curiously woven of split canes dyed of various colours." [1]

344 As we now have seen there were four arbors or beds (Creek tupa),
554 usually laid out toward the four points of the compass. The names given to these beds vary. Sometimes one name was applied
621 to the entire bed, sometimes to a section, while the names themselves were somewhat different in the different towns. Nevertheless in each town there was usually a bed upon which the term chiefs' bed (mikálgi or mikági intupa) may properly be bestowed, one which may be called the warriors' bed (tàstànágàlgi intupa), and one the boys' bed (tcibànágàlgi intupa), the last for youths busking for the first time and sometimes, at a later period, allowed to women and children except during the fast. The fourth bed is often called the "peace bed," or the henihas' bed (henihálgi intupa) and was known

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[1] Bartram, Travels, p. 302.

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to the traders as the "second men's cabin." The henihálgi always acted as companions, seconds, or lieutenants of the chiefs, and during the busk each principal official must be accompanied by a heniha. It is for this reason that the traders called them "second men." Their origin we will consider later.[a] Probably we can not solve the problem which they present entirely, but it may be mentioned that a class bearing practically the same name existed among the Timucua of Florida and that inihi in that language meant "consort" (husband or wife). For our present purposes it is important to find out what clans in each town—so far as it can be determined—constituted the mikálgi or chiefs, and the henihálgi or second men, and how these and all other clans were seated. Originally the tástánágálgi or warriors seem to have been formed by promotion from all clans, but latterly the name has sometimes become identified with certain particular ones. Taking up first the chiefs and henihas we find the following condition in the different towns:

Town	Chiefs	Henihas [1]
Talladega	Bear	Raccoon.
Abihka (near Eufaula)	Raccoon or Bear [2]	Bear or Raccoon (second chief).[2]
Abihka-in-the-West	Panther	Raccoon.
Kan-tcati	Bear	Do.
Otciapofa	Beaver	Wind.
Tulsa Little River	do	Bird.
Tulsa Canadian	do	Beaver (second chief).
Lutcapoga	do	Bird [3] (Beaver, second chief).
Okfuskee	Bird (Bear—J. Lewis)	Bear.
Tcatoksofka	Bear	Beaver (second chief).
Abihkutci	do	Bird.
Nuyaka	do	Wind.
Talmutcasi	(1) Bird (2) Raccoon	(1) Wind; (2) Bird.
Pakan tallahassee	(1) Aktayatci (2) (Bear—J. Lewis)	(1) Wind; (2) Bird.
Wiogufki	(1) Aktayatci (Raccoon—J. Lewis); Wind (later); Alligator (later).	Wind; Alligator (later).
Tukpafka	Aktayatci	Panther.
Asilanabi	Bear; Raccoon (later)	Wind; Deer (later).
Okchai	Aktayatci (Raccoon—J. Lewis) [4]	Bird (Deer).
Łálogálga	Raccoon	Deer (second chief).
Wiwohka	(1) Panther [5] (Bird—J. Lewis) (2) Raccoon.	(1) Wind. (2) Wind.
Tuskegee	Wind or Bear [2]	Bear or Wind.[2]
Koasati	Raccoon	Wind (Panther, second chief).
Tukabahchee	Raccoon (Eagle—Hawkins)	Wind.[6]
Atasi	Bear [7]	Do.
Kealedji	Raccoon	Do.

[1] In some cases the name of the second chief's clan is remembered but the name of the heniha's clan forgotten. At times the two are confounded, and at times they are distinguished. (See p. 287.)

[2] The two clans were said to furnish the chief and second chief alternately.

[3] Legus Perryman seemed to think, however, that a Tcloki clan, perhaps the Aktayatci, furnished the henihas.

[4] Raccoon according to Jackson Lewis and another informant.

[5] Panther according to two informants.

[6] According to Kasihta yahola the Tukabahchee use the Deer clan as henihas "during the woman's dance."

[7] The last chief belonged, however, to the Bird clan.

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[a] See pp. [illegible]

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NNll Creek NNll

and Jackson Lewis said the same thing. This is perhaps to be accounted for by the influence of Tukabahchee, but it is confessedly difficult to explain. Turning to the Red towns we find that all of them were indeed headed by Red clans except Coweta, Atasi, Łaplåko, Alabama, and one or two Seminole towns. The Seminole towns need not be considered on account of the disturbance which they suffered at the time of the removal to Florida and again in the removal to Oklahoma. Alabama may also be disregarded, as it is well known that it was formerly on the White side, associated with Okchai, and the case of Atasi may be dismissed because only one or two persons know anything about it and the organization as they remember it was evidently very much altered. Coweta and Łaplåko, however, constitute important exceptions which can not so readily be brushed aside. There is reason to believe that the clans known to have held the chieftainship, or related clans of the same side, were long in occupancy of the head position. Nevertheless generally we do have an apparent conformity in leadership between White clans and White towns, and Red clans and Red towns. We know that both chiefs and henihas were changed in recent times owing to the playing out of clans. Originally the chiefs of Okchai were chosen from the Bear and Wind because they are powerful, but later changed to the Raccoon and Deer because they are peaceful. If there were many deaths in a town the circumstance might be attributed to the ruling clan and the clans be changed for better luck.

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We now turn to the second point to be determined—the position of the clans in the different beds or arbors. To prepare the ground for this, however, it will be necessary first to indicate the position which the beds occupied in the various towns. Although, as explained above, the names of these varied to some extent I shall call them the chiefs' bed, warriors' bed, henihas' bed, and youths' bed. Originally the women had no seats inside the square but had to content themselves with the rough benches beyond its limits. Adair says that the only women admitted into the Chickasaw[1] tcokofa during ceremonials were six "old beloved women" who entered once annually to take part in a certain dance. At other times, however, he states that women could sit on each side of the door. In some few cases it is impossible to distinguish the two, or even the three, last named beds, but this will disturb the general result very slightly. In the following table I indicate these positions for the various towns in accordance with the best information obtainable.

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[1] Supposing that the town he was describing was actually Chickasaw. See p. [illegible].

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Town	Chiefs' bed	Warriors' bed	Henihas' bed	Youths' bed
Talladega	W	E	S	N (wanting).
Abihka (near Eufaula)	W	E	S	N (wanting).
Abihka-in-the-West	W	E	S	N (for visitors).
Kan-tcati	W	S (west end)	E (north end)	N (wanting).
Otciapofa	W	E	N	S (wanting).
according to Swan	W [1]	S	N	E.[1]
Tulsa Little River	W	N	S	E (for visitors).
Tulsa Canadian (?)	W	S [2]	S [2]	N.
Lutcapoga	W	N[3] (S)	S [3] (N)	E.
Okfuskee	N	W	E	S.
Tcatoksofka	W	E [2]	E [2]	N and S.
Abihkutci	N	W	E	S.
Nuyaka	N	W	E	S.
Talmutcasi	N	E	W	S.
Pakan tallahassee	N	W	S	E (wanting).
Wiogufki (1)	W	S	(wanting)	E.
(2)	W	E	S	N (wanting).
Tukpafka	W	N	S	E (wanting).
Asilanabi	W	N	S	E.
Okchai	W	N	S	E.
Łálogálga	W	N	S	E.
Wiwohka (1)	W	E	N	S (wanting).
(2)	W		S	N (wanting).
Tuskegee	W	E [4]	N [4]	S.
Koasati No. 1	S	E(?)	?	?.
Koasati No. 2	W	N	S [5]	N (wanting).
Tukabahchee	SW	NW	SE	NE.
Atasi (1)	N	W	E	S.
(2)	N	S	E	W.
Kealedji	W	N	E(?)	S(?).
Łapláko	W	N	S	E.
Łiwahali	E	S	?	?.
Hilibi	W	S(?)	E(?)	N.
Upper Eufaula	N	S	E	W (wanting).
Alabama	E	W	S(?)[6]	N(?).[6]
Kasihta [7]	W	N	S	E (wanting).
Hitchiti	W	N	E	S.
Okmulgee	W	N	S	E.
Apalachicola	W	N	E	S.
Yuchi	W	N and S [8]		

[1] Actually Swan transposes these two beds, as I have already said (p. [illegible]), I think we may fairly assume a mistake in the notes or in the transcription made from them.

[2] The warriors and the henihas occupied different parts of the same bed. There was no East bed in Tulsa Canadian.

[3] According to two informants.

[4] Speck, on the authority of Laslie Cloud, places the warriors in both the North and East beds, and it is true that the imala or warriors of the second class sat in the North bed.

[5] In modern times the henihas actually sat with the chiefs in the West bed.

[6] These two beds are now entirely wanting.

[7] All authorities, including Hawkins, agree.

[8] There was no East bed.

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Town	Chiefs' bed	Warriors' bed	Henihas' bed	Youths' bed
Coweta (1)	W	E	N	S.
(2)	W	S	N	E.
Łikatcka	W	S (east end)	S (west end)	E.[9]
Eufaula Hobayi	W	S	N	E.
Chiaha (1)	S	N	W	E.
(2)[10]	W	S	N	E.
Osochi [10]	W	N	S	E.
Ochesse	W	N	S	E.
Okfuskee Seminole	W	N	S	E.
Tallahasutci	W	N	S	E.
Hitchiti Seminole	W	N	S	E(?).
Eufaula Seminole	W	N (?)	S (?)	E (wanting).
Łiwahali Seminole	W	S	N	E.
Chiaha Seminole	W	S (?)	N (?)	E.
Mikasuki	W	N	S (?)	E.

[9] There was no name for the North bed.

[10] According to two informants.

The chiefs' bed we find almost always to the west, and, excepting in one case, always to the west among the Lower Creeks and the Seminole. The town square which Adair describes, whether it was Creek or Chickasaw, also had the chiefs' bed to the west, and he tells us specifically that it lay to the west in the old town of Coosa which has long since vanished. The exceptions are in the cases of the Okfuskee towns,[20a] Pakan tallahassee, Atasi, and Upper Eufaula, in which it was north; Łiwahali and Alabama in which it was east; and "Koasati No. 1" and the early Chiaha square in which it was south. I do not feel thorough confidence in the data from Atasi, Łiwahali, and Koasati No. 1, but the cases for the Okfuskee towns, Pakan tallahassee, Upper Eufaula, and Alabama are proved by the existing squares. Chiaha and Koasati No. 1 may perhaps be explained by Tukabahchee in which the bed lies southwest and is said sometimes to lie west and again to lie south. Possibly the peculiar reverse arrangement among the Alabama is due to the fact that the Alabama were at one time adopted by the Okchai who told them that they might "sit on the other side of their fire." At that time, therefore, their chiefs may have occupied the east cabin, and they may have retained the same position after separating from the Okchai. In the case of the Okfuskee I can only say that, as their towns lay well to the north and east, they may have desired to face somewhat inward toward the rest of the nation. But this is purely conjecture. Turning to the warriors' bed we find that in about 23 cases it was to the north, in 12 to 16 south, 6 to 11 east, and 5 or 6 west. In Hawkins's description of

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[20a] Tukpafka, which seems to constitute an exception, has long been abandoned and information regarding it is somewhat doubtful.

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a Creek square it is placed to the north, but in those given by Swan and Adair to the south. Both positions were therefore relatively old, and there is no reason to doubt that the east and west positions may be old also, since the former is decisively characteristic of the Abihka towns while the latter is just as characteristic of the Okfuskee towns, Pakan tallahassee, and Alabama. The bed of the henihas is on the south side 18 to 28 times, on the north 6 to 10 times, on the east 10 to 12, and on the west once or twice. I doubt the correctness of the cases in which it is reported on the west, but all of the other positions probably occurred. In many cases it is difficult to determine the henihas' bed with certainty, since the name applied to it changed more than that of any other bed and the henihas themselves were frequently seated in the same cabin as the chiefs. The least important of all the beds was that which I have called the youths' bed, also used for visitors, for mixing the medicine, for storing articles, and in later times omitted altogether. This bed, or the space marking its absence, was on the east between 21 and 25 times, on the south 8 to 14 times, on the north 6 to 8 times, and on the west once or twice. One of the last, it should be observed, occurs in one of the extant square grounds. The characteristic positions for these beds were, therefore, west for that of the chiefs, north for that of the warriors, south for the henihas, and east for the youths. However, the warriors' bed was often south or east, the henihas' east or north, and the youths' south. When the chiefs' bed was shifted out of the west it was almost always to the north. There is practically no native explanation for the different positions which the beds occupied in different towns. Big Jack of Hilibi recalled a belief that the chiefs were made to face those they opposed in the ball games, but this would not hold for one-half of the Creek towns.

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The location of the four beds now being determined for each town as closely as the material will permit, let us proceed, using this as a guide, to place the clans in them. In the following table is given as complete a statement of their positions as possible. The capital letters indicate the cardinal point of each bed and the small letters in parentheses whether this belonged to the chiefs, henihas, warriors, or youths.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

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Town	Wind	Bear	Bird	Beaver	Alligator	Deer
Talladega	S(h)	W(c)			S(h)	E(w)
Abihka	S(h)	W(c)			W(c)S(h)	E(w)
Abihka-in-the-West	S(h)	S(h)			S(h)	E(w)
Kan-tcati	S(?)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)		E(?)
Otciapofa	N(h)	W(c)		W(c)		E(w)
Tulsa Little River	S(h)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)		N(w)
Lutcapoga	S(h)(W(c))	W(c)(—)	S(h)(W(c))	W(c)(W(c))	N(w)(S(h))	
Okfuskee	E(h)	N(c)	N(c)		S(y)	S(y)
Tcatoksofka	E(h)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	N, S	N, S
Abihkutci	E(h)	N(c)	N(c)	N(c)	S(y)	S(y)
Nuyaka	E(h)	N(c)				
Talmutcasi	W(h)		N(c)			
Pakan tallahassee	N(c)	S(h)	S(h)		S(h)	W(w)
Wiogufki	W(c)(W(c))	W(c)(S(h))	S(w)	S(w)(W(c))	S(w)(—)	S(h), E(w)
Tukpafka	S(h)					W(c)
Asilanabi	W(c)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)
Okchai	W(c)	S(h)	S(h)			S(h)
Łáłogålga	W(c)					W(c)
Wiwohka	N(h)(W(c))	N(h)(—)	N(h)(—)	W(c)(—)	W(c)(—)	W(c)(S(h))
Tuskegee	W(c)(W(c))	N(h)(W(c))	W(c)(N(h))	N(h), W(c)(E(w))	N(h), W(c)(—)	
Koasati No. 1	S(c)	S(c)(?)	?	?	?	?
Koasati No. 2	W(c)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)
Tukabahchee	W(c)	W(c)(S(h))	W(c), S(h)(S(h))	S(h)	E(y)	W(c)
Atasi	S(h)(E(y))	W(w)&(E(h))	N(c)	N(c)	E(h)	N(c)
Kealedji	W(c)	E(y)	E(y)	E(y)	S(h)	W(c)
Laplako	W(c)	S(h)(W(c))	N(w)	N(w)	E(y)	E(y)
Liwahali						
Hilibi	E(h?)	E(h?)	E(h?)		W(c)	S(w?)
Upper Eufaula	N(c)	N(c)	N(c)	N(c)	E(h)	(N(c))S(w)
Eufaula Hobayi	S(w)(W(c))	S(w)(W(c))	W(c)(N(h))	(N(h))	W(c)(N(h))	N(h)
Alabama	E(c)	E(c)(W(w))	E(c)		E(c)	E(c)
Kasihta	S(h)	W(c)	S(h)	S(h)	W(c)	S(h)
Hitchiti	N(w)	N(w)	W(c)		E(h)	W(c)
Okmulgee	W(c)	W(c)	S(h)	S(h)	S(h)	N(w)
Apalachicola	W(c)(N(w))	W(c)(N(w))	W(c), N(w)(N(w)	E(h)(W(c))	E(h)(W(c))	N(w)(W(c))
Yuchi[1]						
Coweta	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)		
Łikatcka	S(h)	W(c)			W(c)	N(w)
Chiaha	(W(c))	W(h)(S(w))	N(w)(W(c))	(S?(w))	(N(h))	W(h)(N?(h))
Osochi	S(h)(S(h))	N(w)(W(c))	S(h)(N(w))	S(h)(—)	W(c)(N(w))	S(h)(—)
SEMINOLE TOWNS						
Ocheese	S(h)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	S(h)	N(w)
Okfuskee	S(h)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	N(w)	N(w)
Tallahassutci	S(h)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	N(w)	N(w)
Hitchiti	N(w)	W(c)	W(c)	N(W)(?)		N(w)
Eufaula	S(h)					N(w)
Liwahali	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	W(c)	S(w)	N(h)
Chiaha	W(c)	W(c)	N(w?)	N(w?)	S(h?)	S(h?)
Mikasuki		W?(c)		S?(h)	W(c)	

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[1] The seating is not by clans.

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Town	Panther	Raccoon	Aktayatci	Snake	Potato	Támi
Talladega	S(h)	W(c)	E(w)			
Abihka	S(h)	E(w)				
Abihka-in-the-West	W(c)	W(c)				
Kan-tcati	S(w)	E(h)				
Otciapofa	N(h)	E(w)	W(c)		N(h)	N(h)
Tulsa Little River		N(w)	N(w)		N(w)	
Lutcapoga	(N?(w))	N(w)	N(w) and S (h)(S(h))		N(w)	N(w)
Okfuskee	S(y)		S(y)			S(y)
Tcatoksofka	N, S	N, S				
Abihkutci	S(y)	S(y)	S(y)		S(y)	S(y)
Nuyaka						
Talmutcasi						
Pakan tallahassee	N(c)	W(w)	N(c)			S(h)
Wiogufki	S(w)W(c)	E (y), E(w)	W(c)		E(y, w)	S(w)(W (c))
Tukpafka	S(h)					
Asilanabi	S(h)	W(c)	(scattered)		W(c)	S(h)
Okchai		W(c)	S(h)			
Łalogalga		W(c)				
Wiwohka	W(c)(W(c))	E(w)(S(h))	E(w)(—)	W(c)	E(w)	N(h)
Tuskegee	E(w)(N(h), W(c))	(E(w))	N(h)(E(w))		N(h)	
Koasati No. 1	S(?)	?	?			
Koasati No. 2	S(h)	W(c)	S(h)			
Tukabahchee	S(h)	W(c)	S(h)		E(y)	E(y)
Atasi	E(h)		E(h)			
Kealedji	E(y)	W(c)	S(h)		W(c)(S(h))	S(h)
Łaplako	S(h)	S(h)	W(c) (S(h))		N?(w)(E(y))	E(y)
Łiwahali	E(c)					
Hilibi		S(w?)	W(c)			W(c)
Upper Eufaula	S(w)(N(c))	N(c)	N(c)		S(w)(N(c))	E(h)
Eufaula Hobayi	N(h)	(N(h))	(N(h))		(N(h))	
Alabama			E(c)			
Kasihta	N(w)	S(h)(and N (w))	N(w)(and S (h))		S(h)	N(w)(S (h))
Hitchiti	N(w)		E(h)			
Okmulgee	N(w)	S(h)	S(h)		S(h)	
Apalachicola	W(c), N(w) (W(c))			E(h)	E(h), N(w), W(c)	
Yuchi[1]						
Coweta	S(h)		S(h)		S(h)	S(h)
Łikatcka	N(w)		S(h)			
Chiaha	N(w)(S(w))	S(c)(N(h))	(N(h))		S(c)(N(h))	(N(h))
Osochi	N(w)(W(c))	W(c)(W(c))	W(c)(—)		W(c)(W(c))	
SEMINOLE TOWNS						
Ochesee	N(w)	W(c)	S(h)	S(h)	W(c)	
Okfuskee	N(w)	W(c)	N(w)	S(h)	W(c)	
Tallahassutci	N(w)		S(h)	S(h)	W(c)	N(w)
Hitchiti						
Eufaula	W(c)	N(w)	S(h)	S(h)	N(w)	
Łiwahali	S(w)		S(w)	S(w)		
Chiaha		N(w?)	S(h?)		N(w?)	
Mikasuki	W(c), N(w)				W(c), N(w)	

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[1] The seating is not by clans.

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Town	Turkey	Pahosa	Kapitca	Wildcat	Wolf	Mole
Talladega						
Abihka						
Abihka-in-the-West						
Kan-tcati						
Otciapofa		N(h)				
Tulsa Little River	N(w)	N(w)				
Lutcapoga						
Okfuskee	S(y)					
Tcatoksofka	N, S					
Abihkutci				S(y)		
Nuyaka						
Talmutcasi						
Pakan tallahassee	S(h)			N(c)		
Wiogufki	S(w) W(c)					
Tukpafka						
Asilanabi	S(h)					
Okchai						
Łałogalga						
Wiwohka		W(c)		W(c)		
Tuskegee						
Kosati No. 1						
Kosati No. 2						
Tukabahchee	E(y)					
Atasi						
Kealedji	S(h)				E(h)	
Łaplako	E(y)	E(y)		S(h)		
Łiwahali						
Hilibi	W(c)					
Upper Eufaula	E(h)					
Eufaula Hobayi			W(c)		(N(h))	
Alabama						
Kasihta				N(w)	W(c)	S(h)
Hitchiti						
Okmulgee				N(w)	W(c)	
Apalachicola			E(h)	(W(c))	(N(w))	E(h)(W (c))
Yuchi [1]						
Coweta						
Łikatcka						
Chiaha					(S(w))	
Osochi			(N(w))	N(w)(S(h))	N(w)(S(h))	
SEMINOLE TOWNS						
Ochesee			S(h)		W(c)	
Okfuskee		N(w)	N(w)			
Tallahassutci	N(w)		S(h)			
Hitchiti						
Eufaula			W(c)			
Łiwahali		N(h)	S(w)			
Chiaha						
Mikasuki						

[1] The seating is not by clans.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

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Town	Skunk	*Fox*	Eagle	Wakai	Miscellaneous
Talladega					
Abihka					
Abihka-in-the-West					
Kan-tcati					
Otciapofa					
Tulsa Little River			S(h)		
Lutcapoga			S(w)		N(h) (Tcowastá)
Okfuskee					
Tcatoksofka			W(c)		
Abihkutci	E(h)	S(y)	S(y)		
Nuyaka					
Talmutcasi					
Pakan tallahassee					
Wiogufki					
Tukpafka					
Asilanabi					
Okchai					
Łäłogälga					
Wiwohka	N(h)				
Tuskegee					
Koasati No. 1					
Koasati No. 2					
Tukabahchee	W(c)(?)				
Atasi					
Kealedji		N(w)		S(h)	N(w) (Cane and Łidjämi)
Łapłako					
Łiwahali					
Hilibi					
Upper Eufaula					
Eufaula Hobayi		(N(h))			
Alabama		N(w)			(W(c)(S(h)) (Fish)
Kasihta					
Hitchiti					
Okmulgee		S(h)			
Apalachicola					W(c) (Toad(?))
Yuchi [1]					
Coweta					
Łikatcka					
Chiaha	(W(c))	S(c)N(h)			(W(c)) (Fish)
Osotci		W(c)(—)			
SEMINOLE TOWNS					
Ocheese					S(h) (Otter)
Okfuskee					
Tallahassutci					
Hitchiti					S(h) (Toad and Tcokote)
Eufaula					
Łiwahali					
Chiaha					
Mikasuki					W(c) (Otter)

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[1] The seating is not by clans.

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The following charts contain all the information that I have been able to obtain regarding the arrangement of the different square grounds, both from my own inquiries and from the writings of earlier investigators. They are of very unequal value and leave much to be desired, but represent about all that it is now possible to find out. In some cases I have given several charts based on the information of a

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number of different informants; in others we are dependent upon the testimony of only one or two of the oldest people and not much reliance can be placed upon it. I give the Lower Creek square first, then the Upper Creek squares, and finally the Seminole squares, the squares in White towns having precedence in each case. Names of White clans have been underlined when the native responsible for the plan in question furnished information on the subject.

The first plan (fig. 6) gives the square of Talladega.

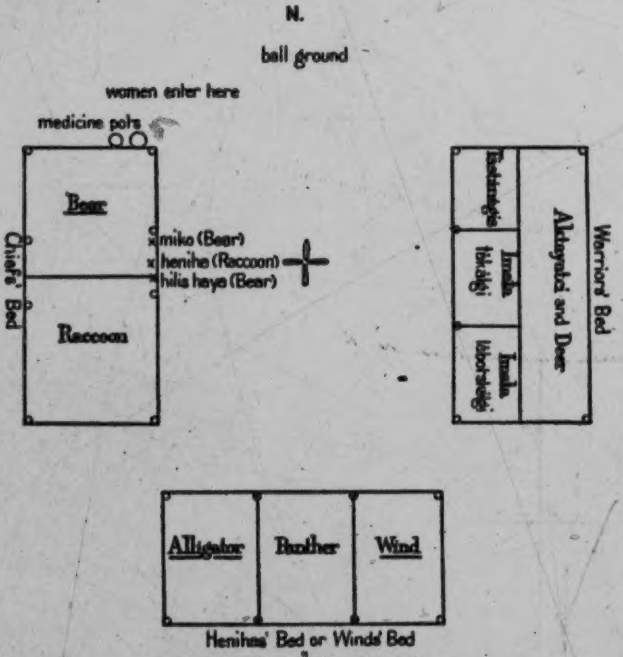
N.
ball ground
women enter here
medicine pots
Bear
Chiefs' Bed
miko (Bear)
henihe (Raccoon)
hilis haya (Bear)
Raccoon
Tastanagis
Imala tisikalgi
Imala labotskalgi
Aktayatci and Deer
Warriors' Bed
Alligator
Panther
Wind
Henihas' Bed or Winds' Bed

FIG. 6.—Plan of the Talladega Square Ground

This represents the proper theoretical arrangement. Actually the Bear and Raccoon people were mixed somewhat indiscriminately in the west bed. Although the Raccoon people are now the henihálgi it is understood that those of the Wind clan should fill that office, not only here but in every other town. The hilis-haya should be a Bear, as represented above, but in practice any qualified man might be selected, regardless of clan.

One medicine pot contained miko hoyanidja, the other a mixture consisting of may-apple roots, wormseed, totka djuk-hisi ("fire-bed moss"), wio'fa fa'ki saigi'ngi ("dirt snatched up"), tcato hátkutci ("little white [granite] rocks"), and totka hi'liswa ("fire medicine").

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These were for the ordinary stomp dances. At the busk a pot of pasa was added. There were about three i'sti àtca'gâgi in each bed. There was no head man among the tàstànâgis; all were called in council by the miko when it was necessary to remodel the ground or undertake any other matter of the sort. The accompanying plan of the entire Talladega ground (fig. 7) was made by the writer in 1912.

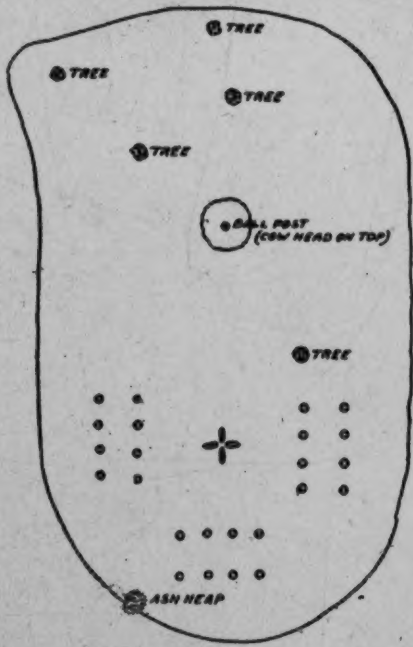

FIG. 7.—Talladega Ceremonial Ground (Including Square) in 1912

Figure 8 shows the old Abihka ground near Eufaula, Okla. The chieftainship in this town alternated between the Raccoon and Bear clans, the second chief being of the Bear when the head chief was from the Raccoon and vice versa. When the head chief died, the second chief took his place. This square ground was given up when my informant was a boy. He stated that here, or possibly at one of the other Abihka grounds, there was a tcokofa toward the east.

Figure 9 gives Abihka-in-the-West. There were two pots of medicine, one containing 10 different ingredients. The cold medicine was left just where it was first prepared; the other was moved over to the north side of the fire. There were three or four i'sti àtca'gâgi in the Warriors' bed and some at each post in the Winds' bed. The i'sti àtca'gâgi decided where and when a ball game was to be played. The tàstànâgis and imałas, at least the big imałas, had their own chiefs distinct from the i'sti àtca'gâgi. There were no tcukolaidji, male managers of the women's dance.

Figure 10 is Kan-tcati.

The only information we have regarding the square ground of the ancient Coosa town is given by Adair, who says in a footnote: "I remember, in Koosah, the uppermost western town of the Muskohge, which was a place of refuge, their supposed holiest consisted of a neat house, in the centre of the western square, and the door of it was in the south gable-end close to the white cabbin, each

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on a direct line, north and south."[3] The passage to which this is appended contains the description of a square ground so generalized that it is impossible to say to what town or towns it applied specifically. Possibly it gives the old order of the Chickasaw square, but it is probable, in any case, that the Coosa square agreed with it, since that was one of those with which Adair was most familiar. It lay upon the trail between Augusta, Ga., and the Chickasaw country. His remarks are as follows: "Those of them [the American aborigines] who yet retain a supposed most holy place, contrary to the usage of the old heathen world, have it standing at the west end of the holy quadrangular ground: and they always appoint those of the meanest rank, to sit on the seats of the eastern square, so that their backs are to the east, and faces to the west. The red square looks north; and the second men's cabbin, as the traders term the other square, of course looks south." It is to be noted that Adair uses the word "square" for each cabin or bed. Accepting this as the arrangement at Coosa, the square would be about as in Figure 11.

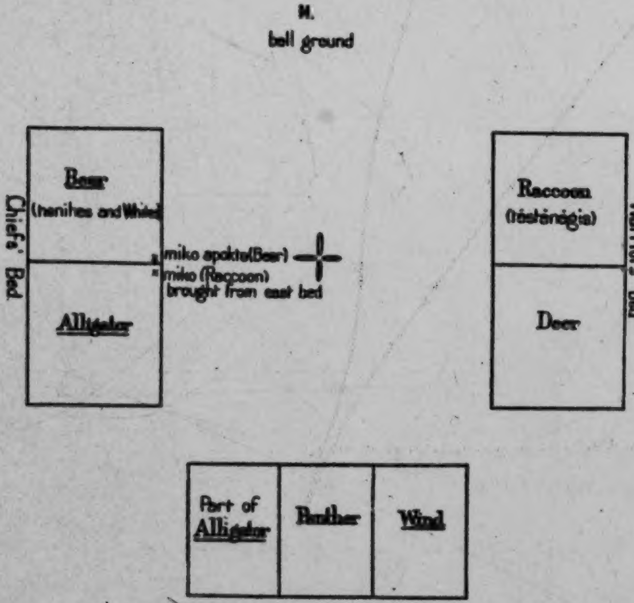
N.
ball ground
Bear
(henihas and Whites)
Chiefs' Bed
1
2
miko apokta (Bear)
miko (Raccoon)
brought from east bed
Alligator
Raccoon
(tastanagis)
Warriors' Bed
Deer
Part of
Alligator
Panther
Wind

FIG. 8.—Plan of the Abihka Square Ground (near Eufaula, Okla.)

It is possible that Adair means by "looks north" and "looks south," "lies north" and "lies south," in which case the relative positions of the henihas' and warriors' beds would have to be trans-

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[3] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 112.

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posed. Be that as it may, the description shows that the Coosa square was very similar to those of the Coweta and Kasihta, the other principal towns of pure Muskogee stock, and it seems to be confirmed by what we know of the daughter town Otciapofa. The inclosed place where the sacred vessels and other objects were kept may not have extended to the very front of the west bed as I have represented, but such a position is plainly indicated by the wording in Adair.

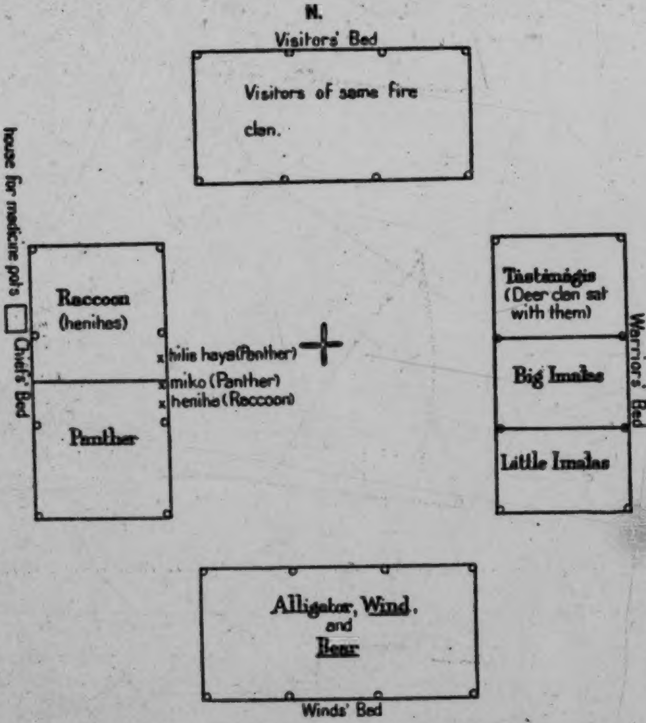
N.
Visitors' Bed
Visitors of same fire clan.
house for medicine pots
Chiefs' Bed
Raccoon (henihas)
Panther
x hilis haya (Panther)
x miko (Panther)
x heniha (Raccoon)
Tastanagis (Deer clan sat with them)
Big Imalas
Little Imalas
Warriors' Bed
Alligator, Wind, and Bear
Winds' Bed

FIG. 9.—Plan of the Square Ground of Abihka-in-the-West

In Figure 12 is what is probably the Otciapofa ground, reproduced from Swan. Figure 13 shows the later plan of Otciapofa as described to me personally. Four isti âtcagâgis sat in each of these three beds; there was no south bed as far back as my informant could remember. The plan of the Otciapofa busk ground (fig. 14) was made by the writer in 1912.

In Figure 15 is shown the Tulsa Little River square.

There were very few of the Panther clan in this town, and but one or two belonging to the Kapitca. The old tookofa is said to

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have lain to the west, probably in the same situation as that of Lutcapoga.

Figure 16 shows the square as it existed in 1911.

Figure 17 is from a rough native description of Tulsa Canadian.

Figures 18 and 19 show the arrangement of Lutcapoga according to two different authorities. The data for the first were given me by Legus Perryman, except that the east bed and the tcokofa are added on the authority of his brother. The latter also stated that the Aktayatci were the tástánágis here, and that the hilis-haya sat in the front seat in the Bear's bed.

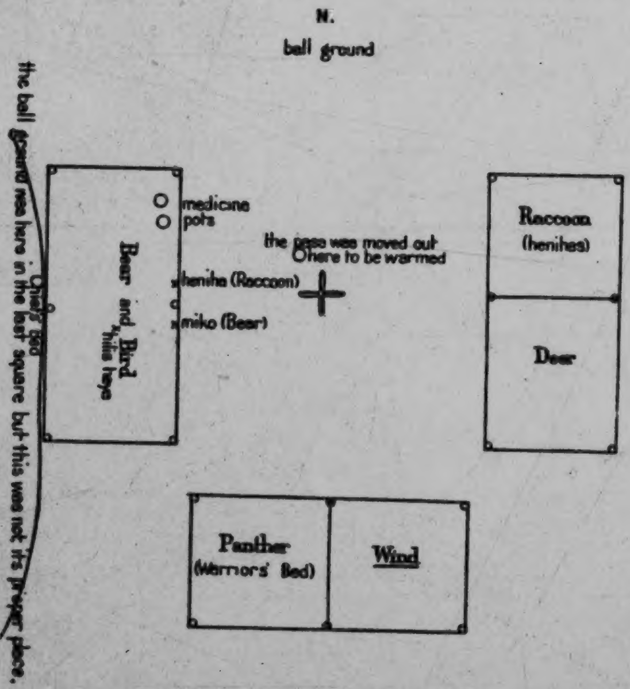
N.
ball ground
the ball ground was here in the last square but this was not it's proper place.
Chief's bed
Bear and Bird
hilis haya
medicine pots
heniha (Raccoon)
miko (Bear)
the pots were moved out here to be warmed
Raccoon (henihas)
Deer
Panther (Warriors' Bed)
Wind

FIG. 16.—Plan of the Square Ground of Kan-tcati

This town was founded because the Tulsa people had become so numerous that their square was overcrowded. The tástánági was speaker for the miko, and the words "he says so and so" occurred over and over in his discourses. The itálwa miko was assistant to the miko. The táski heniha was a leader in the women's dance, a "white dance" called itcha obánga.[illegible] There was another women's dance at the end of the ceremony which was a war dance danced by the Potato

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[illegible] See p. 609 in following paper. Originally it seems to have been a war dance.

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people (Ahalági). The Aktayatci had charge of and distributed the medicine, although the hilis-haya himself could belong to any clan.

The old tcokofa was provided on the east side with a special seat for the women. It had a smoke hole.

The chief of Lutcapoga about 1852 was a man named Hadji yàhola, who was succeeded by Tciyāha. This man died about 1857 and was followed by Tàlsi fiksiko, who died in the winter of 1862.

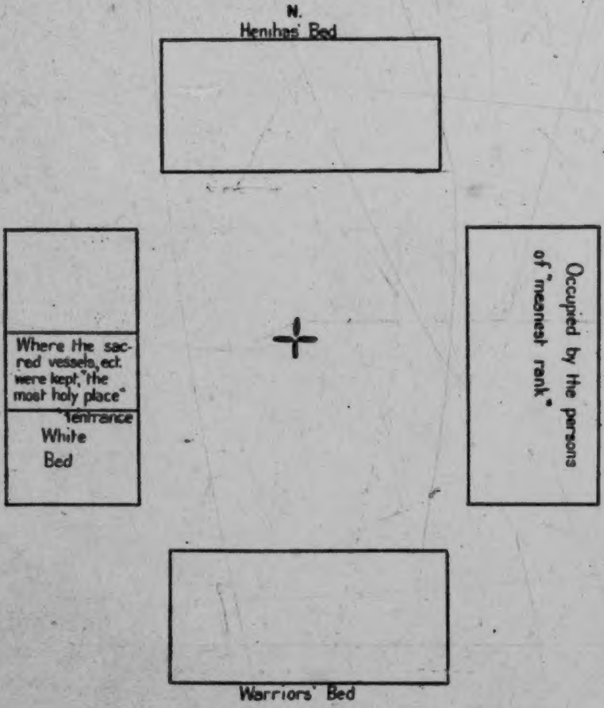
N.
Henihas' Bed
Where the sacred vessels, ect. were kept, "the most holy place"
entrance
White Bed
Occupied by the persons of "meanest rank"
Warriors' Bed

FIG. 11.—Conjectural arrangement of the Coosa Square Ground

Next came in succession Miko fiksiko and Itchāswa (Beaver). The last was living in 1912.

Figure 20 is Nuyaka. My informant stated that there were only two individuals belonging to the Panther clan in this town, and that no especial place was provided for the Deer clan. Figure 21 is a plan of the entire busk ground as it appeared in 1912.

Figure 22 is from a native description of Okfuskee.

There were very few in this town belonging to the Potato and Raccoon clans and they probably sat in the south bed. Besides the two isti àtcagági in the east bed there was one in each of the others.

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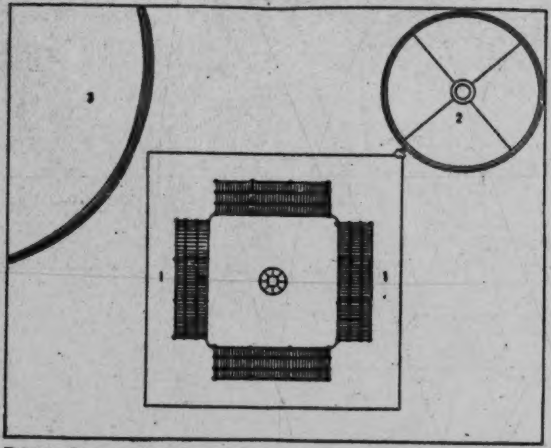

FIG. 12.—Plan of a Creek Ceremonial Ground as given by Swan. The top of this illustration is west instead of north. 1, Square; 2, Tcokofa; 3, Chunkey yard

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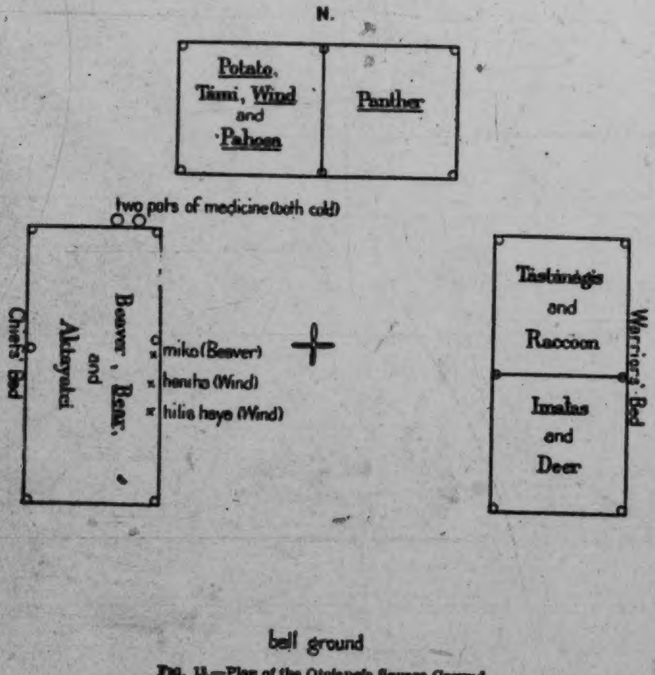
N.
Potato, Tämi, Wind and Pahosa
Panther
two pots of medicine (both cold)
Chiefs' Bed
Beaver, Bear, and Aktayatci
miko (Beaver)
heniha (Wind)
hilis haya (Wind)
Tastanagis and Raccoon
Imalas and Deer
Warriors' Bed
bell ground

FIG. 11.—Plan of the Otciapofa Square Ground

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In the adiloga medicine they used maypop root (obaha), totka hiliswa, wilana (wormseed), and totka djukhisi (fire bed moss). The miko hoyanidja did not go in with these.

Figure 23 is Abihkutci and Figure 24 contains all of the information I could obtain regarding Talmutcasi.

The younger brother of the woman from whom this information came gave a different description of the square, but it was so close to that of Tukabahchee that I believe it can not be relied upon, and that it was a deduction from the belief that all of the other squares were modeled on that of Tukabahchee.

The next (fig. 25) shows Tcatoksofka. The rank of clans in the west bed is said to have been as follows: Bear, Beaver, Bird. Visiting chiefs were seated in the same beds as the chiefs of the town, visiting warriors in the same beds as the warriors, and so on. The occupants of the Chiefs' bed took their medicine first, then those in the east bed, and finally those in the north and south beds. The two common medicines, miko hoyanidja and pasa, were used.

Figures 26 and 27 give the plan of Pakan tallahassee as recorded from two different informants. The numbers back of the beds indicate the order in which their occupants came out to take the medicine. According to one informant the third and fourth chiefs belonged to the Bear clan instead of the Panther clan as here given; another stated that the Panther people were not confined to a particular part of the Chiefs' bed but could sit anywhere. The bearers of the medicine consisted of two of the Bird clan, one of the Deer, and one of the Bear. The four leaders of the women were taken, one each, from the Wind, Deer, Bear, and Bird clans. They took their medicine at the northeast corner and fasted one day and one night.

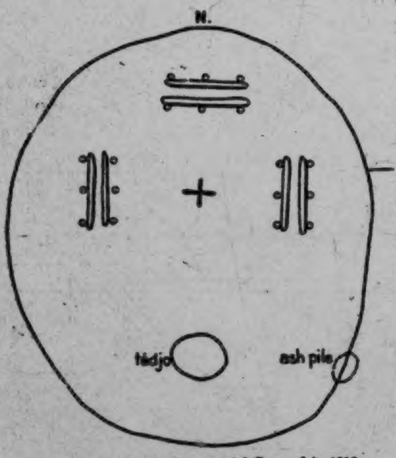

FIG. 14 —Otciapofa Ceremonial Ground in 1912

My authority for the second plan stated that the people of the Bird clan were called isti àtcagàgi, and that imalas are not used any more.

The accompanying plan of this ground (fig. 28) is from data obtained in 1912.

Plate 2 is shown the Pakan tallahassee busk ground looking east (*b*) and the north or Chiefs' bed (*c*) as they appeared in the summer of 1912.

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Figures 29 and 30 show the organization of Wiogufki according to two different informants. In later times the Alligator people became first henihas and then mikos. There is now but one tástánagi, who is seated as indicated in the first plan. When the former hilis-haya was about to die he taught the proper formulae to a boy of the Deer clan who happened to be the best fitted for this office. There were no isti átcagági in recent times, the tástánagi being used as a "choice man." In this town a new seat was made for the hilis-haya every year.

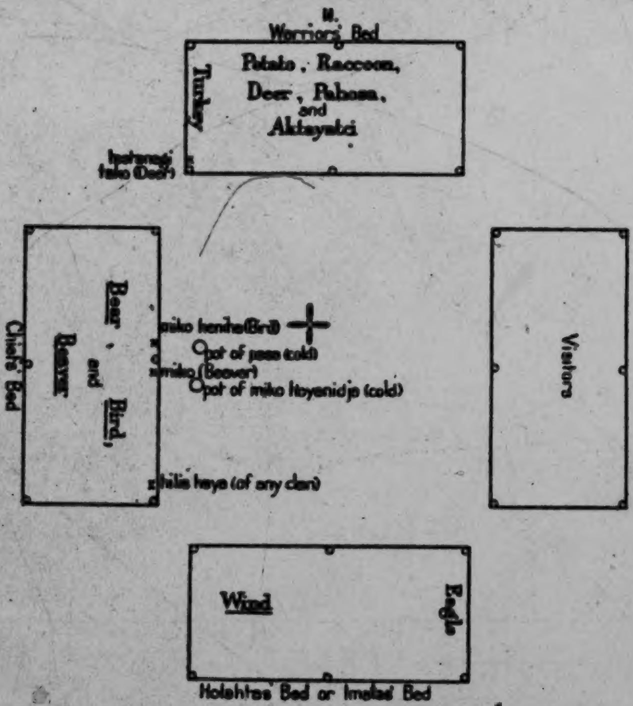
N.
Warriors' Bed
Turkey
Potato, Raccoon, Deer, Pahosa, and Aktayatci
tastanagi tako (Deer)
Chiefs' Bed
Bear, Bird, Beaver and
miko henha (Bird)
pot of pasa (cold)
miko (Beaver)
pot of miko hoyanidja (cold)
hilis haya (of any clan)
Visitors
Wind
Eagle
Holahtas' Bed or Imalas' Bed

FIG. 13.—Plan of the Square Ground of Tulsa Little River

The subjoined plan of the Wiogufki square ground (fig. 31) is from data gathered in 1912.

The next sketch (fig. 32) contains all that the old men could remember of Tukpafka. This square ground was given up many years ago. My two informants agreed very well regarding most of the details of the plan, except that one of them thought the medicine pots were placed at the north end of the west bed and the other believed they were at the south end.

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Besides the clans enumerated above there were some Raccoon and Potato and in ancient times some Beaver. There were never any Alligator, Bear, or Bird. Two men sang for the women when they danced, one man carrying a white gourd rattle, the other a blue one.

Figure 33 is a rough diagram based on a study of the site of the last Tukpafka square ground. We now come to the Fish Pond Towns. Figure 34 shows Asilanabi.

Besides the clans given there were a few individuals belonging to the Aktayatci clan, but these sat anywhere. The Raccoon clan were leaders of the Tcilokis and were followed in order of rank by the Panther, Deer, Beaver, Aktayatci, and Alligator in succession. The old tcokofa was placed as in the plan, to the northwest of the square, but after they returned at the conclusion of the Civil War, an old man who had preserved ashes from the tcokofa throughout that contest said that it would not be good to use the old place again, so he deposited the ashes just east of the east bed. It does not appear, however, that a new tcokofa was erected over them. It is said that in reality there ought to be three beds, each having eight posts, instead of the four with six posts. The one left out was probably that on the east. The accompanying plan of this square (fig. 35) is from data gathered in 1912 by the author.

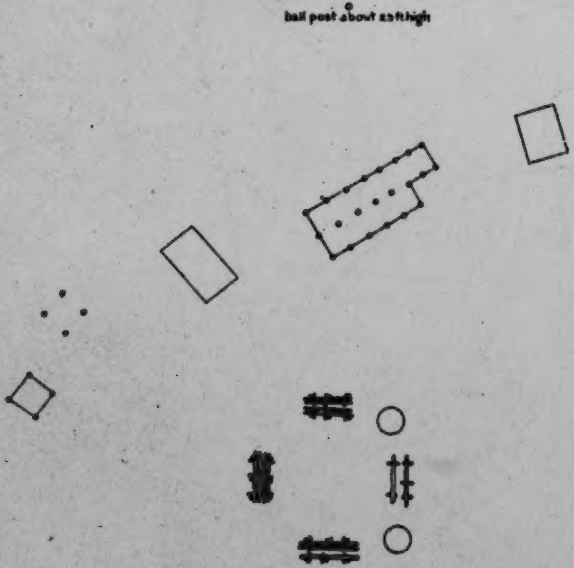

FIG. 16.—Tulsa Little River Ceremonial Ground in 1911

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Figure 36 is Okchai. According to my informant, the Wind clan were known as isti ȧtcagȧgi. He stated that the tȧstȧnȧgis could overrule the miko sometimes on the ground that a thing was unconstitutional.

The plan shown in Figure 37 represents the square ground as it existed in 1911–12.

Figure 38 is Łȧlogȧlga or Fish Pond proper.

According to another informant—in whom I do not, however, place unlimited confidence—the east bed was used for visitors, and the north bed occupied throughout by the Deer clan. He placed the Aktayatci and Tȧmi in the northern compartment of the west bed, the Pahosa and Potato in the middle section, and "old people" in the southern. The medicine pots were at the north end of the same bed, and the pot of medicine for the women and children was at the south end of this bed; the women also entered to dance at the latter place. In the south bed were the rest of the clans, the henihas being in the easternmost section. In Figure 39 is a plan of the Łȧlogȧlga square as it existed in 1912.

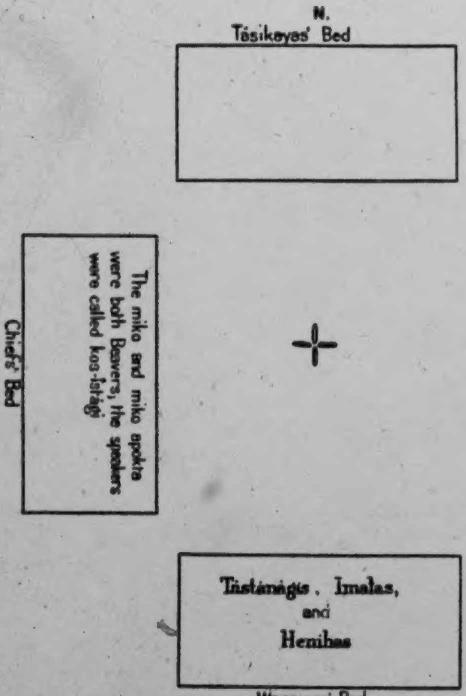
N.
Tāsikeyas' Bed
The miko and miko apokta were both Beavers, the speakers were called kos-ìstàgi
Chiefs' Bed
Tästänägis, Imalas, and Henihas
Warriors' Bed

FIG. 17.—Plan of the Square Ground of Tulsa Canadian

Figures 40 and 41 show Wiwohka. The essential differences between these two plans of the square may be explained if we suppose that the second informant, or my interpreter, misunderstood the location of the north bed and placed it on the south side. The correctness of the first plan is confirmed by a third account which in other respects is inferior to either of those given. The only other discrepancy is in the position of the Wind clan which the first informant placed in the north bed and the second in the west bed. This was perhaps due to an assumption on the part of the second informant

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that the henihas would be seated in the same bed as the miko's heniha. My third informant also committed an evident blunder in placing the Chief's bed to the east instead of the west. All three agreed in giving the Panther clan as that of the chiefs and the Wind clan that of the henihas.

In Figure 42 is a plan of Tuskegee by one of its former chiefs. One informant thought that the Potato were the henihas, but I believe this to have been a mistake. It is probable that the Wind clan originally constituted the henihas but subsequently came to furnish the chiefs.

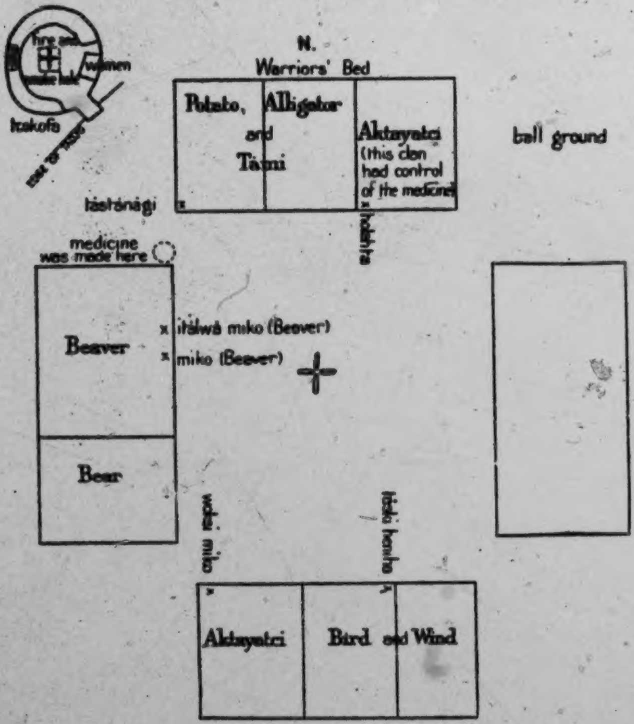
women
tcakofa
N.
Warriors' Bed
Potato, Alligator and Tāmi
Aktayatci (this clan had control of the medicine)
ball ground
tastanagi
holahta
medicine was made here
x itālwā miko (Beaver)
x miko (Beaver)
Beaver
Bear
wakai miko
isàdi henha
Aktayatci
Bird and Wind

FIG. 18.—Plan of the Lutcapoga Square Ground (1)

Figure 43 is the square ground of the same town as remembered by another informant. The plan given by Doctor Speck on the authority of Laslie Cloud confirms both of the preceding in the main in regard to the uses to which the various beds were put, and it confirms that of the first informant, Silas Jefferson, in regard to the position occupied by the medicine pots.[4]

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[4] Speck in Mem. Amer. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 112.

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There were two groups of Koasati Indians in Oklahoma, each with its own square ground. The square of the first, called Koasati No. 1, was given up so long ago that not much can be recalled regarding it. David Cummings, who attended the busks at this ground when he was a boy, although he was not a Koasati himself, stated that there were four beds, and that the open space between them was entirely covered with an arbor. The Chief's bed, as he remembered, was on the south, and the miko himself of either the Bear or the Panther clan. The Wind clan sat at the east end of the Chief's bed and were probably the henihas, though of this he was not certain. The ball ground was on the east and the women entered at the southeast corner. The Warriors' bed was probably on the east.

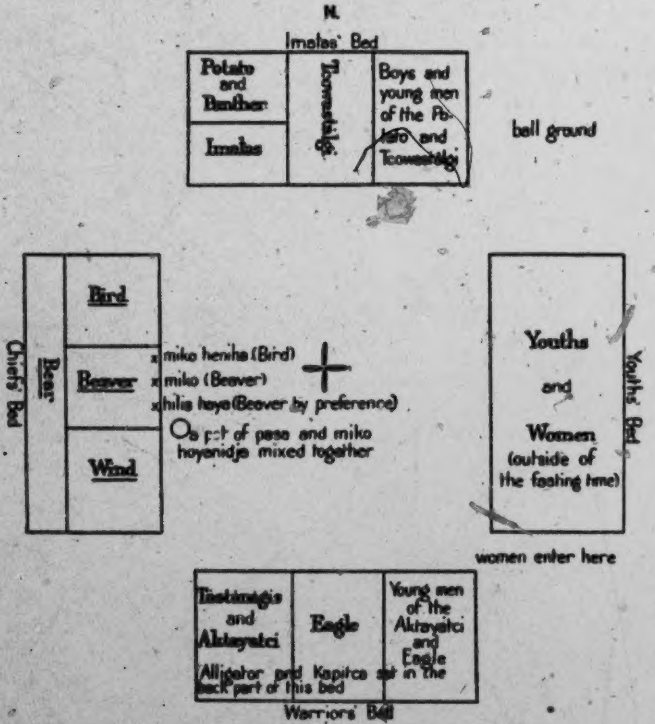
N.
Imalas' Bed
Potato and Panther
Imalas
Tcowastaigi
Boys and young men of the Potato and Tcowastaigi
ball ground
Chief's Bed
Bear
Bird
Beaver
Wind
x miko heniha (Bird)
x miko (Beaver)
x hilis haya (Beaver by preference)
O a part of pasa and miko hoyanidja mixed together
Youths and Women (outside of the fasting time)
Youths' Bed
women enter here
Tastanagis and Aktayatci
(Alligator and Kapitca sat in the back part of this bed
Eagle
Young men of the Aktayatci and Eagle
Warriors' Bed

FIG. 19.—Plan of the Lutcapoga Square Ground (II)

The later square, Koasati No. 2, is shown in Figure 44.

Figures 45–47 are plans of the Tukabahchee square ground from as many different informants. The first said that if it were possible the hilis-haya was selected from the Raccoon clan; if that position is

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filled from any other clan, the man so chosen is seated at the west end of the north bed. The tcunuk hadjo and the holahta in the Youths' section are the only officers who do not have henihas. One of the tástánágis was known as Kosa Tástánági. He belonged to the Wind clan, and his mate was a Raccoon called Tukabahchee Tástánági. The Youths prepared the feather wands for the feather dance just back of the central portion of the Chiefs' bed.

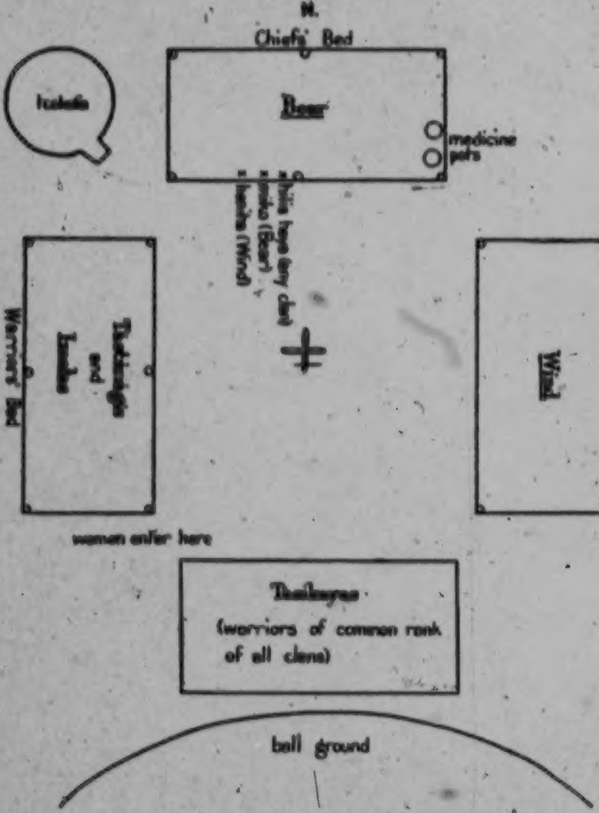
N.
Chiefs' Bed
Bear
medicine pots
Tastanagis and Isakas
Warriors' Bed
Wind
women enter here
Tasikayas
(warriors of common rank of all clans)
ball ground

FIG. 47.—Plan of the Nuyaka Square Ground

According to the second informant the clans might change their positions in a bed but not the bed itself, and according to the third all of the clans in the north, east, and south beds were Tcilokis.

Figure 48 is a plan of the busk ground made in 1912.

Figure 49 gives the arrangement of the old busk ground near Melette, Okla., as nearly as it could be made out in 1912–1914. Plate

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3, *b*, shows the south or southeast bed of Tukabahchee and Plate 3, *c*, the square looking through the western entrance, between the beds of the Chiefs and Warriors. Plate 5, *a*, shows the mound where the buffalo and war dances were performed.

Figures 50 and 51 are based on the recollections of two of the oldest and best informed Atasi Indians. The father of the man who furnished me with the information on which the first is based was chief of Atasi; his war name was Fus hàtci miko.

Still another informant said that the Chiefs' bed was in the west and the Warriors' bed in the north, and that the medicine pots were at the north end of the former. The details given thus agree exactly with the arrangement of Tukabahchee with which I believe the informant had confused it, since Atasi is supposed to have been a branch of that town. He said that the medicines were like those used at Tukabahchee, and that the last chief was of the Bird clan, the one before him of the Bear clan. According to another informant the last chief was a Raccoon, the one before probably a Bear; and he added that the last chief's heniha was a Bear, the one before a Deer.

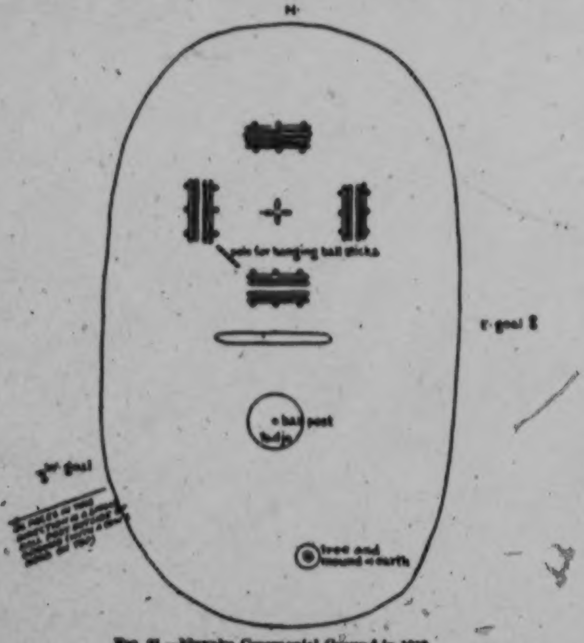

FIG. 49.—Nuyaka Ceremonial Ground in 1912

Figures 52 and 53 embody two descriptions of the square of Kealedji. The isti àtcagàgi sulga sat at the south end of the Chief's bed.

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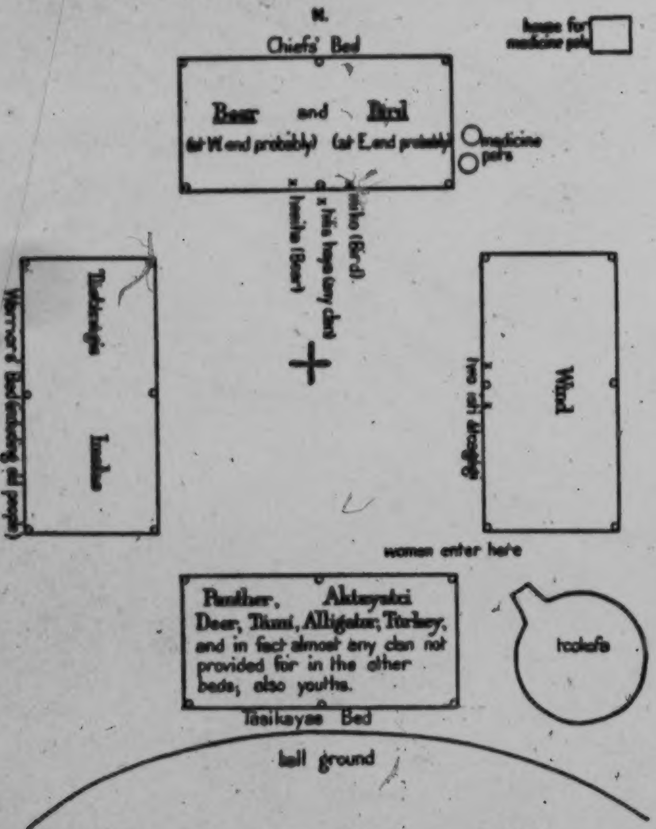
Accompanying is a rough sketch (fig. 54) of the first square ground used by the people of this town after they moved across the Mississippi River as it appeared in 1912 after having been abandoned a great many years.

The Łaplåko square is shown in Figures 55 and 56. There were a few isti ätcagági in the west bed.



N.
house for medicine pots
Chiefs' Bed
Bear and Bird
(at W. end probably) (at E. end probably)
medicine pots
imiho (Bird)
hiła hopa (any clan)
hasiha (Bear)
Warriors' Bed (including all people)
Raccoon
Wind
isti ätcagagi
women enter here
Panther, Aktayatci
Deer, Tâmi, Alligator, Turkey,
and in fact almost any clan not
provided for in the other
beds; also youths.
tcokofa
Tâsikayas Bed
ball ground

FIG. 53.—Plan of the Okfuskee Square Ground

According to my second informant eight men belonging to the Wind and Raccoon clans were appointed to procure the medicines and bring the water.

The discrepancies between these two plans may be accounted for largely by the fact that my second informant was a Tukabahchee who seems to have confused the Łaplåkọ square with that of his own town to some extent. However, the arrangement of the Tukabah-

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chee square was considered "standard" by many people, and it is probable that that of Łaplåko was modified in later times to agree with it. The second informant also stated that the Chiefs' bed was on the south, again in agreement with the Tukabahchee plan, although in fact the latter is rather southwest, the entrances between the beds being directed toward the cardinal points. Accompanying (fig. 57) is a rough plan of the ground where the people of this town met before a ball game.

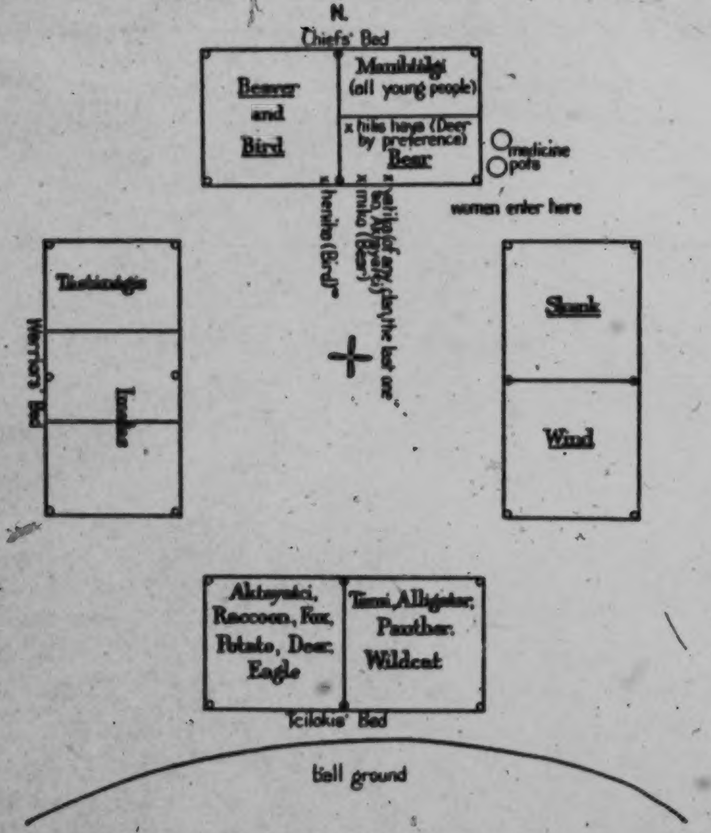
N.
Chiefs' Bed
Beaver and Bird
Mamihlalgi (all young people)
x hilis haya (Deer by preference)
Bear
medicine pots
women enter here
x heniha (Bird)
x miko (Bear)
x [illegible] (of any clan), the last one
Tastanagalgi
Warriors' Bed
Isnalas
Skunk
Wind
Aktayatci, Raccoon, Fox, Potato, Deer, Eagle
Tami, Alligator, Panther, Wildcat
Tcilokis' Bed
ball ground

FIG. 57.—Plan of the Abihkutci Square Ground

Figure 58 shows the last organization of the Łiwahali square just before it petered out. The hilis-haya was always of the Deer clan and sat with his own people. This ground, as here represented, was in the last stage of decline, and not much can be inferred from it. The old man who furnished me with the best data regarding Łaplåko,

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a comparatively late offshoot from Łiwahali, stated that the latter ground was originally identical with that of Łaplako except that the miko was a Panther and the heniha a Deer.

This town used several squares in succession before the Civil War, and two afterwards. My informant stated that the tástanágis were appointed from any clans occupying the south bed. If the miko had to leave the square for any reason the miko apokta took charge.

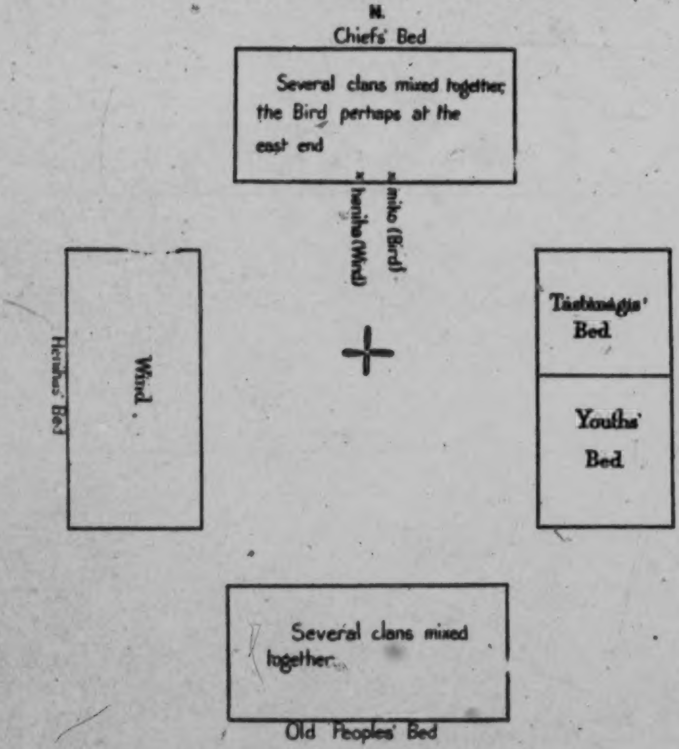
N.
Chiefs' Bed
Several clans mixed together, the Bird perhaps at the east end
x heniha (Wind)
x miko (Bird)
Henihas' Bed
Wind
Tástanágis' Bed
Youths' Bed
Several clans mixed together.
Old Peoples' Bed

FIG. 24.—Plan of the Talmutcasi Square Ground

The ball ground was not close to the square but at some distance from it. He stated that the clans ranked thus: Deer, Aktayatci, Panther, Bird, Bear, Wind, Alligator. There was only one individual of the Wind clan and there were but few of the Bird, Bear, and Alligator.

The Hilibi square is given in Figure 59. Anciently there were eight posts to the bed instead of six. When I first visited the Hilibi square the north bed had not been built; it was put up last. The old men who sing for the women during their dance sit at the west

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end of the Raccoon's section of the south bed. In taking medicine the west bed goes first, then the south, and then the east, but some men in the back part of all the beds go last of all. The accompanying plan (fig. 60) is from data collected by the writer in the winter of 1912 before the north bed was erected.

There were some eight camps about this ground. It was too new to have developed a tádjo of any size, but that of the ground occupied immediately before this was about 220 paces in circuit. If a tcokofa were to be erected it would be toward the east. Plate 4, *b*, shows the Chiefs' bed in 1912.

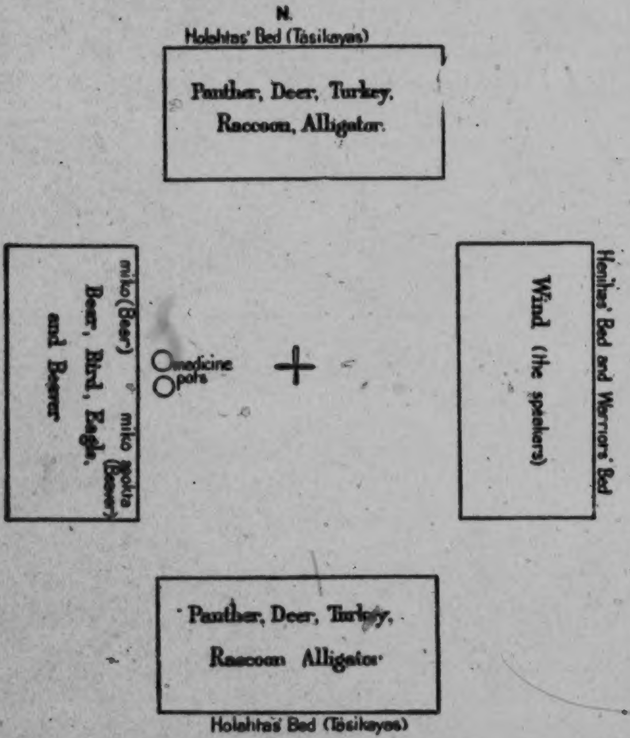
N.
Holahtas' Bed (Tasikayas)
Panther, Deer, Turkey,
Raccoon, Alligator.
miko (Bear)
Bear, Bird, Eagle,
and Beaver
miko apokta (Beaver)
medicine pots
Wind (the speakers)
Henihas' Bed and Warriors' Bed
Panther, Deer, Turkey,
Raccoon Alligator
Holahtas' Bed (Tasikayas)

FIG. 25.—Plan of the Tcatoksofka Square Ground

Figure 61 represents the Eufaula (or Upper Eufaula) square as it is supposed to have appeared anciently, my authority being Jackson Lewis.

Figure 62 shows the actual arrangement in modern times as explained by the hilis-haya.

344 421 There were said to be only seven Tâmi and three Turkey people in this town. The imalas should be of the Raccoon clan but there never were any in Eufaula, according to the second informant. He probably meant that there had been none there within his recollection. The Hathagâlgi included the Wind, Bear, Bird, Turkey, and Tâmi. There is one of the isti âtcagâgi belonging to the Bear clan in the north bed, one belonging to the Deer clan in the east bed, and one belonging to the Aktayatci in the south bed. These men give new names to boys. A different authority from any of the above stated that the Eufaula chief was anciently taken from the Eagle clan. This might well have been, since the Eagle was reckoned a branch of the Raccoon which, as appears from these plans, sat in the bed of the chiefs. The accompanying plan of this ground (fig. 63) represents it as it existed in 1912.

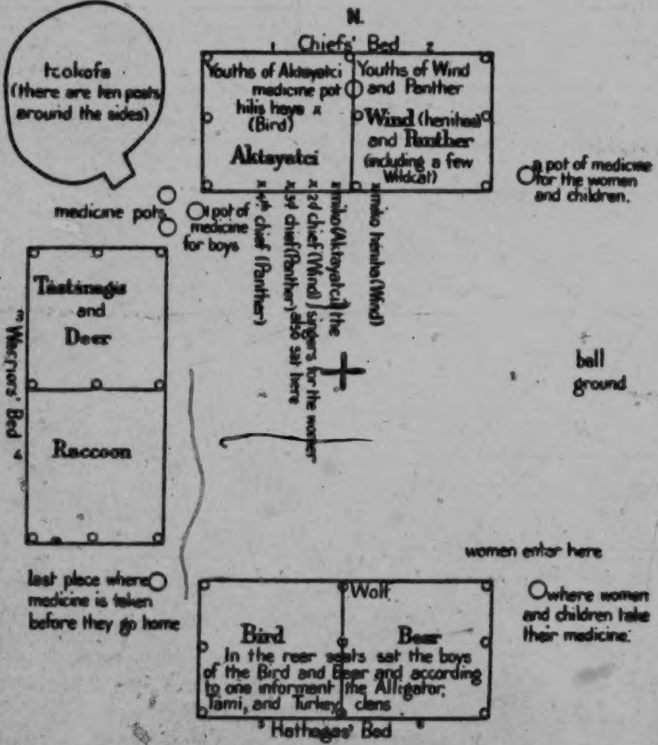
N.
Chiefs' Bed
1
2
tcokofa (there are ten posts around the sides)
Youths of Aktayatci
medicine pot
hilis haya x (Bird)
Aktayatci
Youths of Wind and Panther
Wind (heniha) and Panther (including a few Wildcat)
a pot of medicine for the women and children.
medicine pots
pot of medicine for boys
x 4th chief (Panther)
x 3d chief (Panther) also sat here
x 2d chief (Wind) singers for the warrior
imala (Aktayatci) the
imala heniha (Wind)
3
Tastanagis and Deer
Warriors' Bed
4
Raccoon
ball ground
women enter here
last place where medicine is taken before they go home
Wolf
Bird
Bear
In the rear seats sat the boys of the Bird and Bear and according to one informant the Alligator, Tami, and Turkey clans
where women and children take their medicine.
5
6
Hathagas' Bed

FIG. 20.—Plan of the Paken tallahassee Square Ground (I)

Plate 3, *a*, gives a general view of the ground, looking from the southwest, and Plate 4, *c*, is a nearer view of the small house in which the implements used in the annual ceremony were stored.

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Figures 64–66 illustrate three descriptions of the Alabama square ground. There were no isti âtcagâgi, the tâstânâgis taking their places. The medicine pots were kept outside of the grounds; ten different medicines were put into one of them.

The accompanying outline of the Alabama busk ground (fig. 67) was made from data collected in 1912.

In Plate 5, *b*, the Alabama square is shown looking from the southeast.

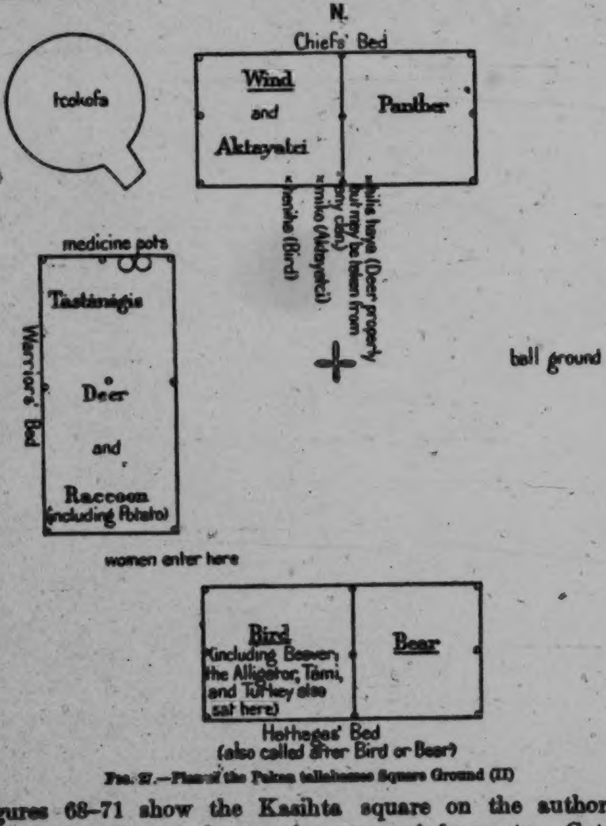
N.
Chiefs' Bed
tcokofa
Wind
and
Aktayatci
Panther
heniha (Bird)
miko (Aktayatci)
hilis haya (Deer property but may be taken from any clan)
medicine pots
Tâstânâgis
Warriors' Bed
Deer
and
Raccoon
(including Potato)
ball ground
women enter here
Bird
(including Beaver, the Alligator, Tâmi, and Turkey also sat here)
Bear
Hothogas' Bed
(also called after Bird or Bear)

FIG. 67.—Plan of the Pakan tallahassee Square Ground (II)

Figures 68–71 show the Kasihta square on the authority of Hawkins, Gatschet, and two of my own informants. Gatschet's informant was probably the Kasihta chief, Ispahihtca. In the origin legend which Ispahihtca related to Doctor Gatschet he calls the west bed Mikâlgi intcuka, Chiefs' House, the east bed Hoktâgi intcuka, Women's House, and the north bed Tâstânâgâlgi intcuka, Warriors' House. Those who sat in the south bed he calls Hâtki iputcasi, "the owners of the white."[illegible]

[illegible] See p. [illegible].

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The seat of the hilis-haya was not fixed; he sat with his clan. The two bearers of the medicine belonged to the Alligator clan. The official called halisi tástánági made arrangements for the ball games.

The plan of Okmulgee (fig. 72) is from information furnished by Judge James R. Gregory. He added that there were two rows of seats in each bed. Legus Perryman remembered some facts regarding this town which agree for the most part with those here given. He thought, however, that there were only three beds, and that the ball ground was to the northwest. The speechmaker (yatika ?), a man of the Aktayatci clan called Woksi miko, sat at the northwest corner of the south bed.

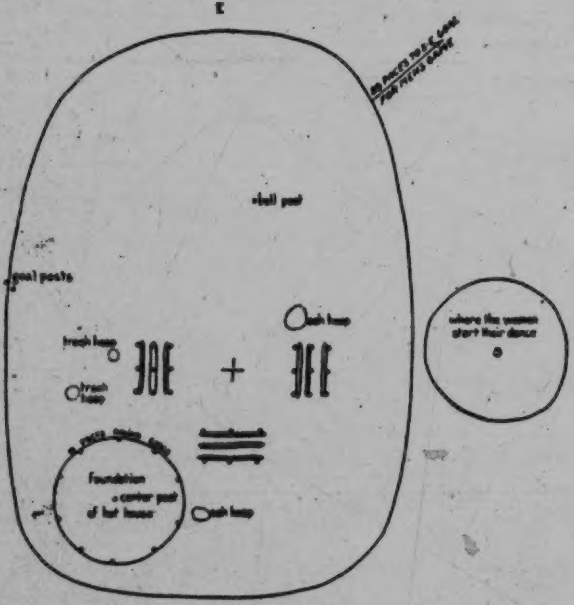

FIG. 23.—Pakan tallahassee Ceremonial Ground in 1912

Figure 73 gives the oldest remembered organization of Apalachicola. My informant, one of the oldest women of this town, added that the Alligator and Beaver shifted about somewhat from one bed to another, while individuals made imalas or tástánágis moved into the Warriors' bed if they were not already there. She asserted that this was the "original foundation" (or plan) of Hitchiti, Sawokli, and the Lower Creek Hátci tcábá, as well as of Apalachicola.

In Figure 74 appears the last organization of this town.

Figure 75 is Hitchiti. In an emergency the Deer heniha could be made miko and the Bird miko heniha. This was the last Hitchiti

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

Hitchiti
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Yuchi
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square, and the plan was furnished to the Indians by my oftmentioned informant Jackson Lewis. The Deer and Bird clans were actually mixed together considerably, although the theoretical arrangement was as above. There were no women's dances on this particular ground. One medicine pot contained miko hoyanidja; the other wîlânâ (wormseed) and "oktcun utcka," the last perhaps a Hitchiti term. The pots were not removed from the place indicated, though one might have been heated there. The tästänägis and imalas were used instead of isti âtcagâgi.

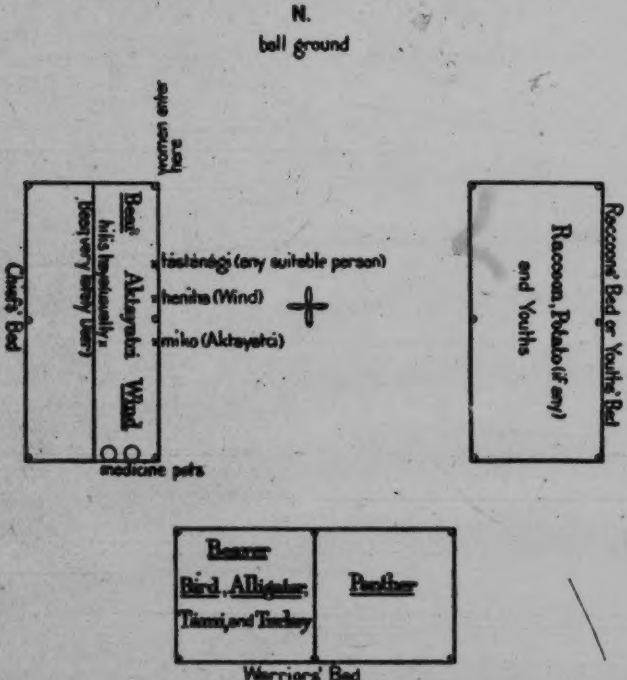
N.
ball ground
women enter here
Chiefs' Bed
hilis heyaidjalgi (medicine makers)
Bear Akhayalci Wind
tästänägi (any suitable person)
heniha (Wind)
miko (Akhayatci)
medicine pots
Raccoon, Pahalo (if any) and Youths
Raccoons' Bed or Youths' Bed
Beaver
Bird, Alligator, Tâmali, and Turkey
Panther
Warriors' Bed

FIG. 29.—Plan of the Wiogufki Square Ground (I)

Figure 76 gives the Yuchi ground as described by Dr. Frank G. Speck.

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The information which I myself obtained agreed in almost every particular with that of Doctor Speck. Seats passed from father to son and in consequence the clans were mixed up in these beds indiscriminately. My informant added that the bearers of the medicine sat at the south end of the west bed, and that on the ball post were two cow skulls at different heights, the lower as a target for the women. He said that if there was no person in the west bed fitted to take the position of chief, someone might be brought from one of the others.

000 to take the position of chief, someone might be brought from one of the others.

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621 Figures 77 and 78 give plans of Coweta, the second in this case probably representing the older organization. The main outlines of the first were confirmed by another old man. He added that two of the medicine bearers were selected from the Hathagas and two from the Tcilokis; they were usually two Bears and two Panthers. That the Panther was an important clan in this town is vouched for by another informant, who declared it was the "leading clan." To it, it may be remarked, the late Creek chief, G. W. Grayson, belonged.

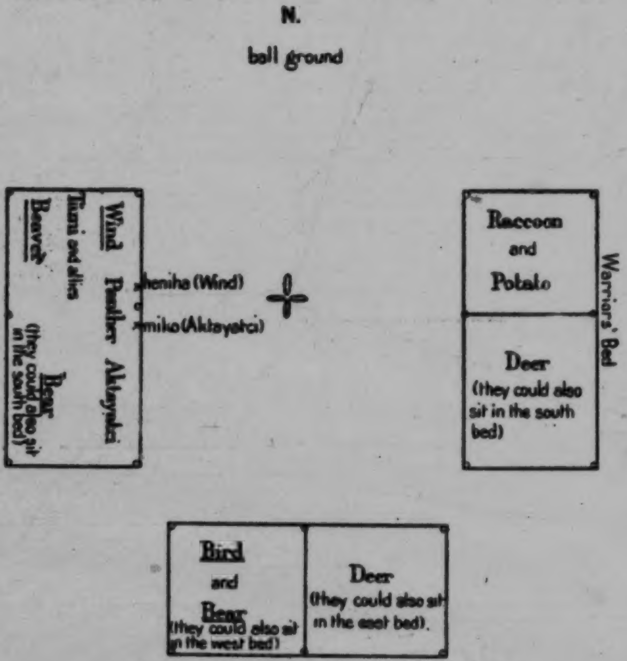
N.
ball ground
Wind
Panther
Aktayatci
Tiimi and allies
Beaver
Bear
(they could also sit in the south bed)
heniha (Wind)
miko (Aktayatci)
Raccoon
and
Potato
Deer
(they could also sit in the south bed)
Warriors' Bed
Bird
and
Bear
(they could also sit in the west bed)
Deer
(they could also sit in the east bed).

FIG. 80.—Plan of the Wiogufki Square Ground (II).

According to the Indian through whom I obtained the second plan the duty of the Holahta was to see that the bearers prepared and distributed the medicines.

The leader of the henihas was known as the Heniha łäko. The three officials in the north bed attended to the medicines and other matters connected with the square. When visitors came they went over to the beds occupied by their respective clans and left the north bed vacant for the strangers. One of the two pots of medicine was warmed, the other cold. The former contained both pasa and miko hoyanīdja, the other only pasa.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NNll Creek NNll
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Hitchiti

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In one place Milfort gives a description of a square which he represents as that in which the great assemblies of the nation were held, and this would probably be Coweta or Tukabahchee, but from the context it would appear rather to have been the former. What he has to say concerns the grand council of the nation more than the town council of Coweta and it will be inserted when we come to speak of that.[8] It is of interest to know, however, that the cabins on the west, north, and south were painted red, indicating a Red town like Coweta and Tukabahchee. That on the east was painted white, which seems rather surprising if my first informant is right in stating that it was occupied by the tàstànàgis. Milfort, however, gives this as the cabin of the old men, and it is possible that it was set aside for the isti àtcagàgi, particularly since we know that some of the functions of these officials were later taken over by the tàstànàgis. Milfort appears to locate the tcokofa just where my informant indicated that it should be.

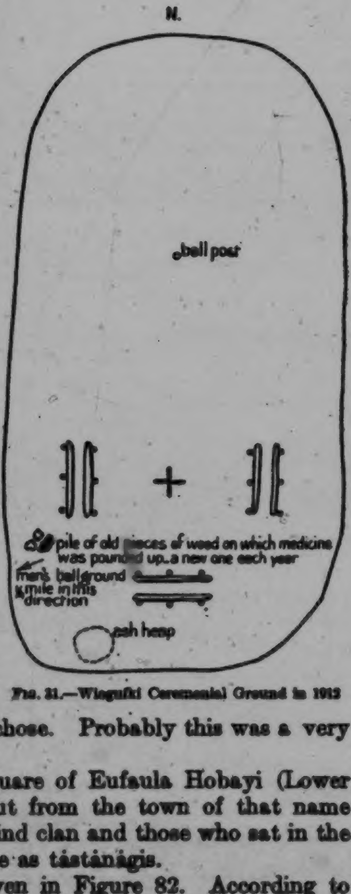
N.
ball post
pile of old pieces of wood on which medicine was pounded up, a new one each year
men's ballground ½ mile in this direction
ash heap

FIG. 78.—Wiogufki Ceremonial Ground in 1912

The square ground of Łikatcka or Broken Arrow is given in Figure 79. The hilis-haya was chosen from the Wind clan and his tenure was for life. The medicine was carried around by three persons, one of whom was chosen from each of the beds, omitting that on the east. There were officials named Holahta and Tàski heniha like those in Coweta. In practice games of ball the Bear and Deer took opposite sides and the others joined one or the other of these clans as they chose. Probably this was a very late arrangement.

Figures 80 and 81 show the Square of Eufaula Hobayi (Lower Eufaula). This town branched out from the town of that name above given. It is said that the Wind clan and those who sat in the north bed were considered the same as tàstànàgis.

The older plan of Chiaha is given in Figure 82. According to another informant "old Chiaha was just like Coweta." It had a tcokofa before the removal west but not afterwards. The Deer clan was classed as Hathaga because it was considered almost the same as the Bird.

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[8] See pp. 311-312.

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Figure 83 is from a description by Ellis Childers, who explained that the town organization as he gave it was the last and was made when a man of the Bird clan named Pibi'ska was miko, although later the miko was taken from the Wind clan as here shown. The reorganization was effected under the direction of Ayima'ha, an Osochi born in Alabama. At that time at least a part of the Osochi busked with the Chiahs, though the towns had separate officials. There was some controversy over the right of the Bird clan to a position in the west bed, but Ayima'ha ruled that it should sit there, and he also placed the Skunk and Fish there. All of the clans in the north bed are said to be henihas except perhaps the Deer. Anciently this town had the same three officials as those who sat in the north bed of Coweta, but on the reorganization they were dropped. The holahta is said to have made arrangements for ball games, and he and the taski heniha together took up a challenge to play (apai'hkita).

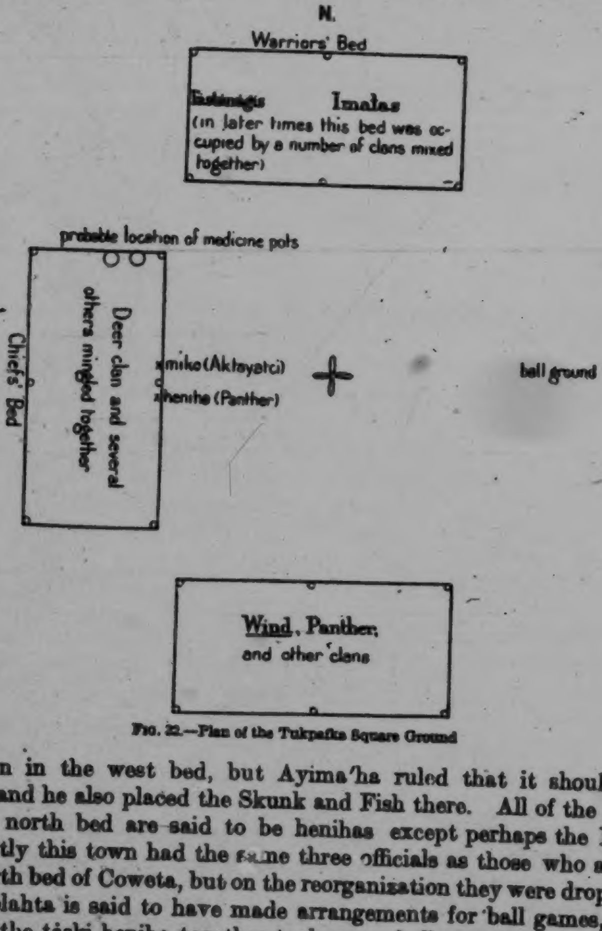
N.
Warriors' Bed
Tastanagis
Imalas
(in later times this bed was occupied by a number of clans mixed together)
probable location of medicine pots
Chiefs' Bed
Deer clan and several others mingled together
miko (Aktayatci)
heniha (Panther)
ball ground
Wind, Panther, and other clans

Fig. 83.—Plan of the Tukpafka Square Ground

Hitchiti
Muskogee
Osochi

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In its main outlines this arrangement was confirmed by another informant. However, he stated that the miko and his heniha were both of the Bear clan, that the young boys were in the north bed, that the various clans were mixed together in the south and west beds, that the women entered at the southwest corner instead of the southeast, and that there was a shelter over the fire. The first of these statements may be explained only by supposing that this man meant the yatika or miko apokta instead of the heniha or that the organization was broken down.

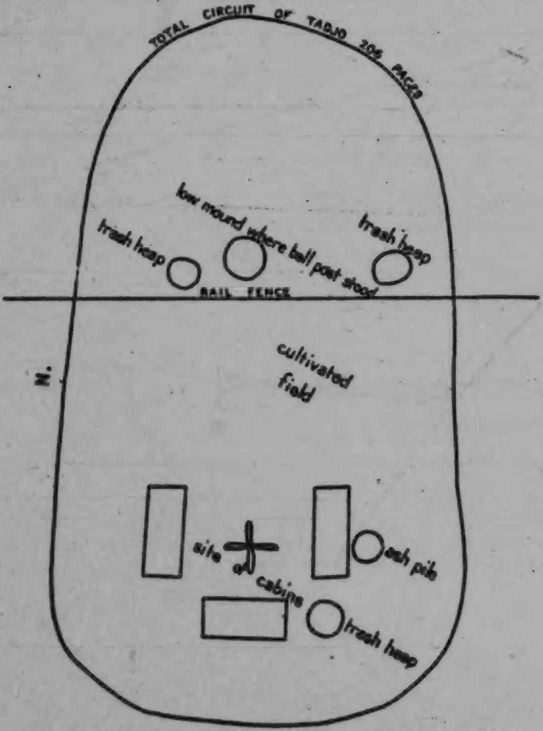
TOTAL CIRCUIT OF TADJO 205 PACES
trash heap
low mound where ball post stood
trash heap
RAIL FENCE
N.
cultivated field
site of cabins
ash pile
trash heap

FIG. 83.—The old Tukpafka Ceremonial Ground as it appeared in 1912

Figure 84 gives what was probably the older organization of Osochi. There were also some representatives of the Beaver clan in this town but my informant did not know where they sat, and he was unable to tell which clans were reckoned as Hathagas and which as Tcilokis.

The plan given in Figure 85 shows the arrangement of the square ground before it was moved from the Verdigris. The clans were scattered through the various beds, the latter not being divided

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Osochi; Alabama
Seminole NN16

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into sections, but my informant affirmed that the Wind and Deer "always went together," which would be in line with the classification of the Deer as a Hathaga clan at Chiaha.

We now come to the Seminole squares.

Ochesee Seminole, a square which has now been given up, is shown in Figure 86. There was formerly a tcokofa, but my informant had forgotten its location. Most of the warriors were in the north bed, and the hilis-haya sat with his own clan. The ashes were not removed from the center of the ground as was customary in the Creek squares.

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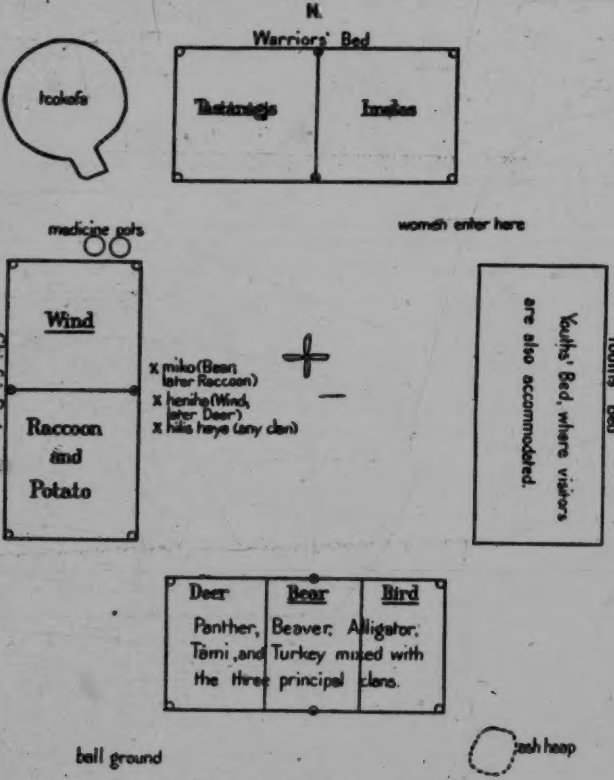
N.
Warriors' Bed
tcokofa
Tastanagis
Imalas
medicine pots
women enter here
Wind
Chiefs' Bed
Raccoon and Potato
x miko (Bean later Raccoon)
x heniha (Wind, later Deer)
x hilis haya (any clan)
Youths' Bed
Youths' Bed, where visitors are also accommodated.
Deer
Bear
Bird
Panther, Tāmi, and the three
Beaver, Turkey mixed with
Alligator, principal clans.
ball ground
ash heap

FIG. 84.—Plan of the Square Ground of Asilanabi

Figure 87 is Okfuskee Seminole. The ball ground was located wherever it was most convenient, and the women danced into the square from any corner.

Figure 88 is a plan of the square made in 1912.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN1
Alabama
Seminole NN16

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The next plan (fig. 89) is of Tallahasutci. On the death of the miko the miko apokta took his place and a new miko apokta was appointed from the clan of the former miko.

The data for the accompanying sketch of this square (fig. 90) was obtained in the winter of 1911–12.

Figure 91 represents the square of Hitchiti Seminole, now abandoned. My informants stated that Toad and Tcokote were two names for one and the same clan. They added that the name of the last miko of this town was Nokobâgi, and the name of his heniha Holahtâgi.

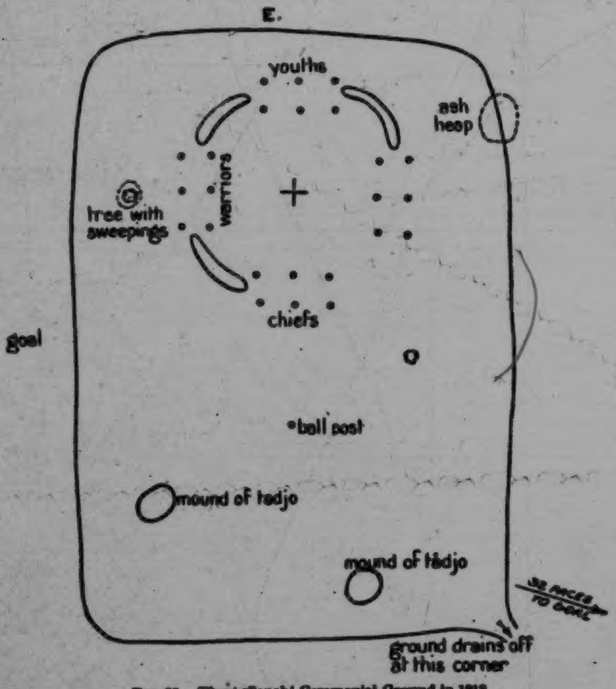
E.
youths
ash heap
warriors
tree with sweepings
goal
chiefs
ball post
mound of tadjo
mound of tâdjo
32 paces to goal
ground drains off at this corner

FIG. 35.—The Asilanabi Ceremonial Ground in 1912

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Figure 92 is Eufaula Seminole. The clans are not kept separate in the different beds. There were a few people of the Bird clan and one man belonging to the Bear who sat wherever they chose. There was also one of the Pahosa who sat with the Deer clan. There were no Beaver. It is said that the Wind clan is the only one which retains the taboo against endogamous marriages, but in the ball games each clan still hangs together. The distinction between the Hathagas and Tcilokis is no longer remembered.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NNll Creek NNll
Muskogee
Seminole NNl6

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The accompanying sketch of the square ground (fig. 93) was made in 1912.

Figures 94 and 95 give Liwahali Seminole. This square ground is said to be kept up merely for the medicine. The leaders were from Liwahali, but the bulk of the people are said to have been drawn from the Upper Creek towns of Fus-hatchee and Kan-hatki which migrated into Florida practically entire.

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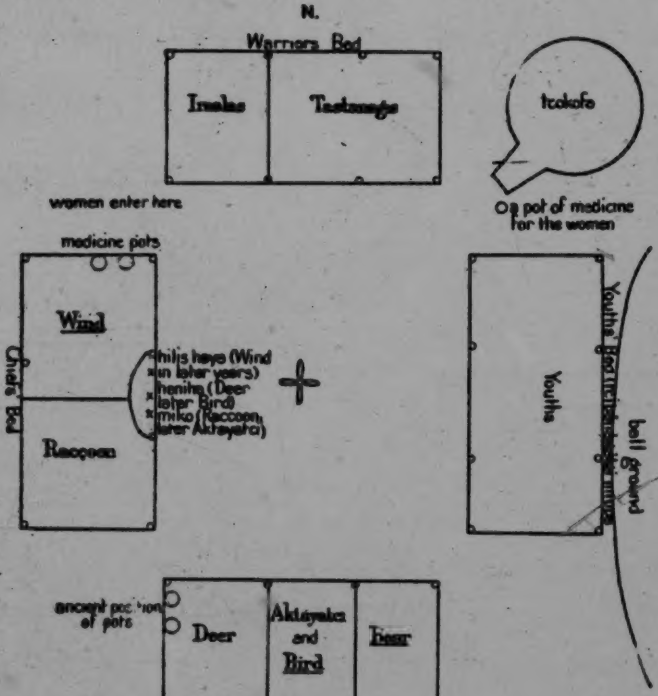
N.
Warriors Bed
Imalas
Tastanagis
Itokofa
women enter here
pot of medicine for the women
medicine pots
Wind
Chiefs Bed
hilis haya (Wind in later years)
heniha (Deer later Bird)
miko (Raccoon, later Aktayatci)
Raccoon
Youths' Bed
Youths
ball ground
ancient position of pots
Deer
Aktayatci and Bird
Bear

FIG. 93.—Plan of the Okchai Square Ground

Accompanying is a sketch of the Liwahali ground (fig. 96), the data for which was obtained in 1912.

Plate 5, *c*, is a view of this ground taken from the west side and looking northeast.

Figure 97 shows Chiaha Seminole. The officials given in the plan had served in their several capacities for a very long time. The present (1912) hilis-haya sits with the rest of his clan, the Potato, in the north bed. At the corners of the square logs were laid down for the accommodation of the women.

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Seminole NN16

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Figure 98 is an outline of this square as it existed in 1912.

Plate 2, *a*, gives a general view of the ground from the southwest; Plate 6, *a*, shows the West or Chiefs' bed from the southern end; Plate 6, *b*, is a view taken through the center of the square from the south; and Plate 6, *c*, shows the permanent parts of some of the surrounding camps.

Figure 99 is based on information furnished by the miko of Mikasuki, who stated that before the white people and the Coweta Indians burned their square, back in the east, the clans occupied certain definite seats, but they do so no longer. Besides the chiefs mentioned in the plan there is a third belonging to the Potato clan and presumably sitting with them.

C.
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Figure 100 shows the same ground. The items entering into the sketch are from several different informants.

The plan of the Mikasuki square ground as I found it in 1912 appears in Figure 101.

C.
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From Swan's description of the Creek square already given we learn that that part of a bed occupied by a certain clan was marked with a painting of the clan animal.[6] Adair states that the clans had symbols or signatures but he does not connect them with the square grounds.[7] He informs us, however, that clan marks were associated with the burial scaffolds of the Choctaw,[8] and he describes at some length the paintings he had seen about several other squares, though without mentioning that any of these referred to clans. His account is as follows:

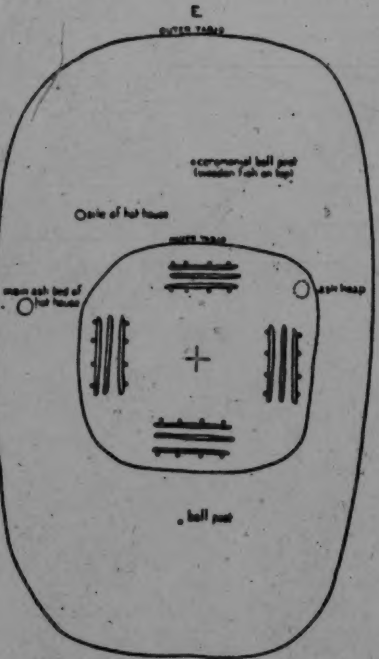

FIG. 97.—Okchai Ceremonial Ground in 1912

"I have seen in several of the Indian synhedria, two white painted eagles carved out of poplar wood, with their wings stretched out, and

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[6] See p. [illegible]. [7] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 15. [8] Ibid., p. [illegible].

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raised five feet off the ground, standing at the corner, close to their red and white imperial seats; and, on the inner side of each of the deep-notched pieces of wood, where the eagles stand, the Indians frequently paint, with a chalky clay, the figures of a man, with buffalo horns—and that of a panther, with the same colour; . . . an established custom, both religious and martial, among them . . . obliges them to paint those sacred emblems anew, at the first fruit-offering or the annual expiation of sins. [555] Everyone of their war-leaders must also make three successful *wolfish campaigns*, with their reputed holy ark, before he is permitted to wear a pair of a young buffalo-bull's horns on his forehead, or to sing the triumphal war song, and to dance with the same animal's tail sticking up behind him, while he sings *Yo Yo*, etc. . . .

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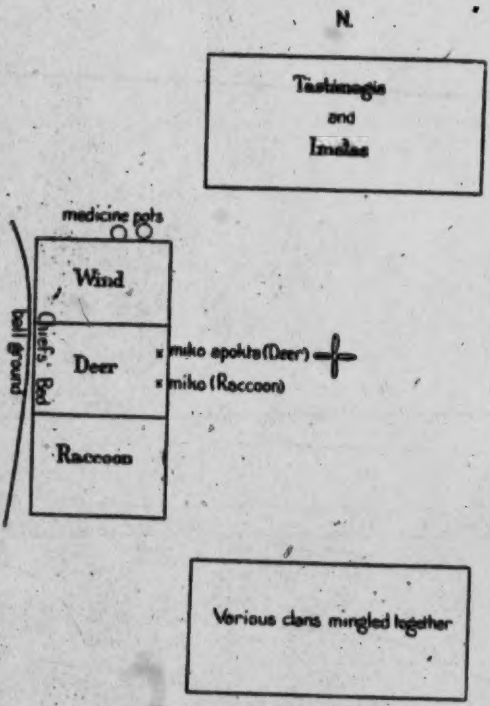
N.
Tastanagis
and
Imalas
medicine pots
Wind
Deer
Raccoon
ball ground
Chiefs' Bed
× miko apokta (Deer)
× miko (Raccoon)
Youths
Various clans mingled together

Fig. 38.—Plan of the Lałogalga Square Ground

"Near to the red and white imperial seats, they have the representation of a full moon, and either a half moon, or a breast-plate, raised five or six feet high at the front of the broad seats, and painted with chalky clay; sometimes black paintings are intermixed."[9]

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[9] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 30-31.

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We will now summarize the seatings of each clan:

Clan	Chiefs' bed	Henihas' bed	Warriors' bed	Youths' bed
Wind	22	20	4	1
Bear	30	11	8	1
Bird	22	12	6	1
Beaver	17	10	5	1
Alligator	11	18	5	5
Deer	10	11	15	3
Panther	10	12	16	3
Raccoon	13	8	11	1
Aktayatci	8	18	8	2
Snake	1	6	1	--------
Potato	9	9	8	4
Tämi	2	10	3	4
Turkey	1	4	3	3
Pahosa	1	2	2	2
Kapitca	2	4	4	--------
Wildcat	3	2	3	1
Wolf	3	2	3	1
Mole	1	2	--------	--------
Skunk	2	2	--------	--------
Fox	2	3	2	1
Eagle	1	2	--------	1
Woksi	--------	1	--------	--------
Tcowasta	--------	--------	1	--------
Fish	2	1	--------	--------
Toad	--------	1	1	--------
Otter	1	1	--------	--------
Tcokote	--------	1	--------	--------
Reed (Cane)	--------	--------	1	--------
Lidjämi	--------	--------	1	--------

The distribution of the smaller clans in the above table agrees very well with that of the larger ones with which they are linked. The principal discrepancies are due to the fact that when the chief was selected from a certain clan that clan moved over in a body into the Chief's bed, and therefore in some cases, in the Raccoon group for instance, the leading clan appears to have been seated in the Chief's bed many more times proportionately than most of the other clans of the phratry.

Turning to the nine first clans, which are representative of the leading Creek phratries, we find that the White clans are found oftenest in the Chief's bed, and next in frequency in the bed of the Henihas, while comparatively seldom are they seated in the beds of the Warriors or Youths. It is to be observed that both the Chiefs' bed and that of the Henihas are frequently spoken of as "White beds," but the former is occupied by White clans more often than the

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latter. This is partly due, no doubt, to the great reduction in numbers which the towns have suffered and the practical abandonment of the Youths' bed, making it necessary to find seats for all of the clans in the three remaining beds. The Warriors' bed, too, does not appear to have been occupied anciently by clans as such, except perhaps the rear rows. In front were the tástánágálgi and imalálgi, who originally owed their positions to exploits in war and were drawn from various clans. In later times these dignities became to a certain extent hereditary, associated with certain clans, and the bed was occupied by clans in the same way as the other beds. It may be said, speaking generally, that the clan of the chief sat in the Chiefs' bed, and when a chief was selected from a new clan that clan moved over into that bed. There are a few cases to the contrary but this is what usually took place. The natural position of a clan is therefore best determined by studying its position when the chief belonged to some other clan. Bearing this in mind an inspection of the arrangement of the square grounds shows plainly that the proper position of the White clans is usually held to be in the beds of the Chiefs and the Henihas. And it is worthy of remark that most of those towns in which these clans appear in the Warriors' bed were of the Hitchiti group, indicating that a somewhat different arrangement obtained there. The Beaver clan is usually identified with, and seated with, the Bird everywhere except in Otciapofa and the Tulsa towns where it was generally the clan of the chief. The Alligator and Aktayatci occur more often in the Henihas' bed than anywhere else. The former is sometimes White, which perhaps accounts in part for its presence here and in the Chiefs' bed; the Aktayatci, however, is always Tciloki and is so much associated with war that the clan is considered—probably as a later development—identical with the tástánágálgi, in Likatcka and Lutcapoga. This accounts f… some

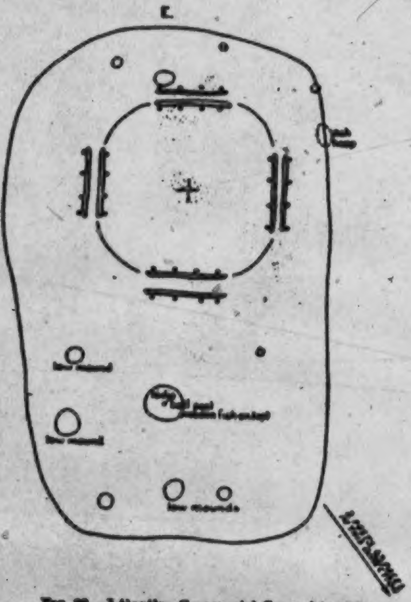

FIG. 28.—Łalogálga Ceremonial Ground in 1912

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of the times when it appears in the Warriors' bed. It appears in the Chiefs' bed several times because the chiefs of the Eufaula towns, Hilibi, Wiogufki, and perhaps Pakan tallahassee, were taken from it.

The Alligator also appears many times in the Chiefs' bed. It is to be noted that when the Aktayatci were chiefs the Alligator were frequently henihas, and in consequence were sometimes taken into the Chiefs' bed. The Alligator were also henihas in Kasihta and were there taken into the Chiefs' bed for the same reason. In some other towns they were partly in the Chiefs' bed and partly in that of the Henihas. The Raccoon clan is the only Tciloki clan found more often in the Chiefs' bed than in any other. This position it occupies in Tukabahchee, Kealedji, the Okchai towns, Upper Eufaula, two Seminole towns, Koasati, two Abihka towns, and, according to two informants, in Chiaha and Osochi. Its position in the last two was probably due to the fact that it is identified with the Potato and Fox, to which the town chiefs there belonged. The others are all Upper Creek towns, constituting two geographical groups, the Abihka and the towns on Tallapoosa River. These Raccoon people are

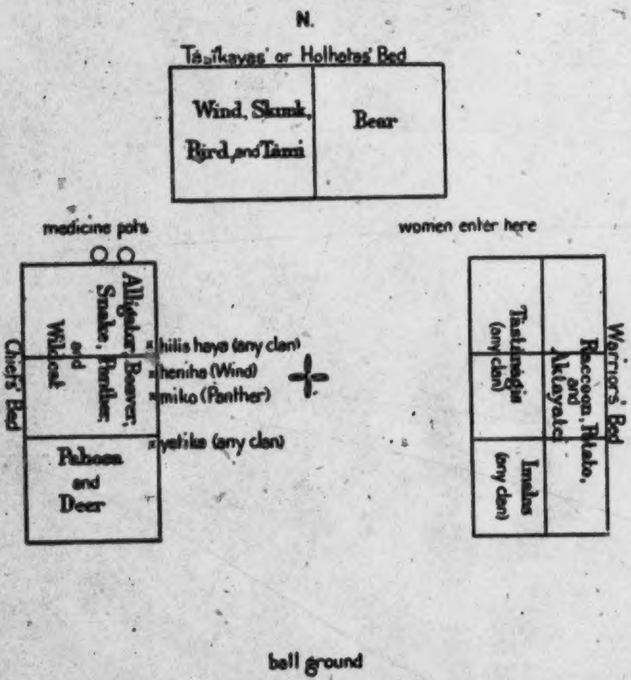
N.
Tasikayas' or Holhatas' Bed
Wind, Skunk, Bird, and Tami
Bear
medicine pots
women enter here
Chiefs' Bed
Alligator, Beaver, Snake, Panther, and Wildcat
Pahosa and Deer
× hilis haya (any clan)
× heniha (Wind)
× miko (Panther)
× yatika (any clan)
Warriors' Bed
Raccoon, Italo, and Aktayatci
Tastanagis (any clan)
Imalas (any clan)
ball ground

FIG. 40.—Plan of the Wiwohka Square Ground (I)

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found more often in the Warriors' bed than in that of the Henihas or Youths, and that is undoubtedly due to the fact that the clan is Red. In one or two cases it is said that the Raccoon clan were the tástánágis. They were in the Warriors' bed particularly in the Abihka and Tulsa towns. The only clans found oftener in the Warriors' bed than in any other are the Deer and Panther, rather singular companions one would think, but perhaps explacable on psychological grounds already given,[10] although it is more likely that the association has a historic basis now long forgotten. As in other cases the Panther and Deer sometimes furnish chiefs or henihas and are consequently found in the Chiefs' bed. They occur in the Henihas' bed more often. In the Okfuskee towns they are squeezed into the Youths' bed, owing to the large size of the White clans. In the Abihka towns, where the Warriors' bed is to the east, the Deer are uniformly placed there, while the Panther appear in the Henihas' bed. In Pakan tallahassee the Deer are again in the Warriors' bed and are specifically called tástánágálgi, while the Panther is taken into the

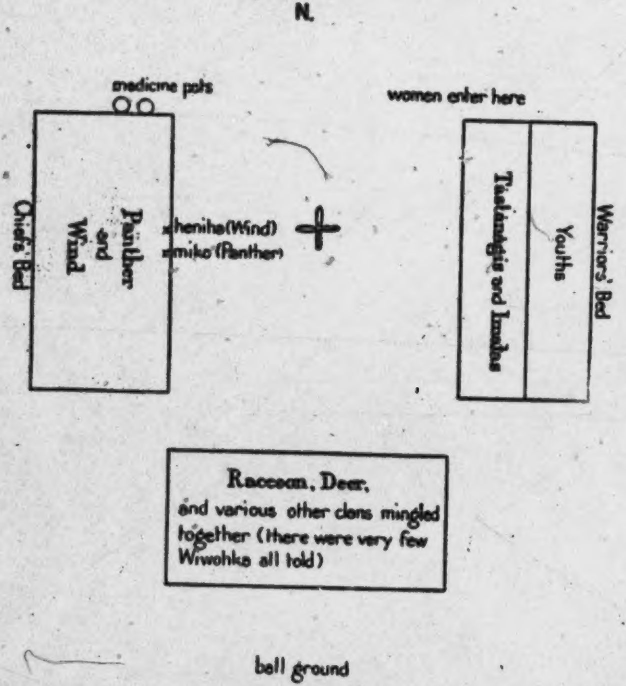
N.
medicine pots
women enter here
Chiefs' Bed
Panther and Wind
x heniha (Wind)
x miko (Panther)
Tastanagis and Imalas
Youths
Warriors' Bed
Raccoon, Deer, and various other clans mingled together (there were very few Wiwohka all told)
ball ground

FIG. 41.—Plan of the Wiwohka Square Ground (II)

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[10] See p. 149.

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Chiefs' bed. In the Okchai towns, Tukpafka, Tukabahchee, Atasi, Koasati, Kealedji, and Hilibi these clans are found, however, either in the Chiefs' bed or in the bed of the Henihas. Often they are separated and sometimes one is placed in the Youths' bed. The separation occurs more often, however, when the Deer is placed in the Chiefs' bed, the Panther being in the Henihas' bed. The Deer are said to have been taken into the Chiefs' bed at Tukabahchee because they formed "a choice clan." In Seminole towns the Panther and Deer are almost always placed in the bed of the Warriors.

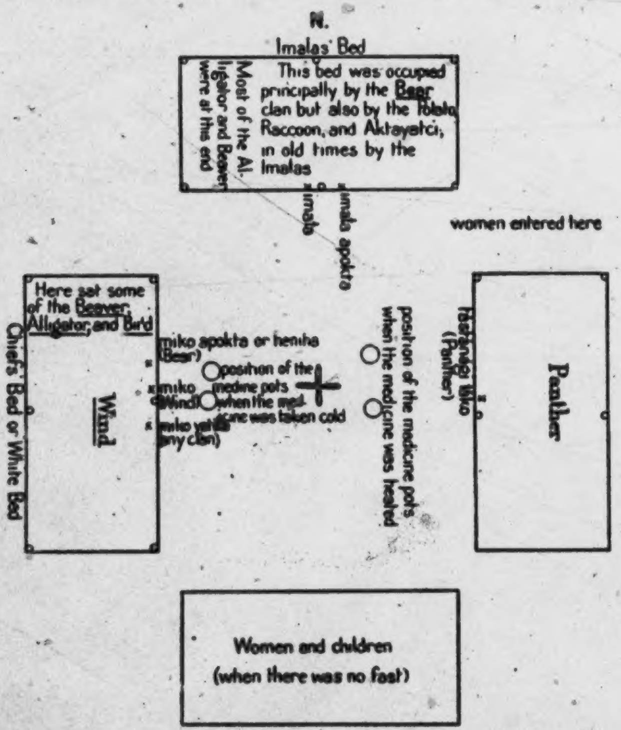
N.
Imalas' Bed
This bed was occupied principally by the Bear clan but also by the Potato, Raccoon, and Aktayatci; in old times by the Imalas
Most of the Alligator and Beaver were at this end
imala
imala apokta
women entered here
Here sat some of the Beaver, Alligator, and Bird
Chiefs' Bed or White Bed
Wind
miko apokta or heniha (Bear)
miko (Wind)
miko yatika (any clan)
position of the medicine pots when the medicine was taken cold
position of the medicine pots when the medicine was heated
tastanagi miko (Panther)
Panther
Women and children (when there was no fast)

Fig 62.—Plan of the Tuskegee Square Ground (I)

The important points regarding the nine leading clans brought out by this table are that the White clans—Wind, Bear, Bird, and Beaver—were seated most often in the Chiefs' bed and next to that most frequently in the bed of the Henihas; the Raccoon clan was seated oftenest in the Chiefs' bed and next to that in the Warriors bed; the Alligator and Aktayatci clans were seated most often in the Henihas' bed; and the Panther and Deer clans most often in the Warriors' bed.

Tuskegee

THE TOWN

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Although the word tálwa is employed rather loosely for both a town and a tribe, its proper signification seems to have been rather tribal, a town or city in our sense of the term, a center of population, being indicated by the word talofa. A tálwa appears to have consisted of a body of people who had their own square ground and

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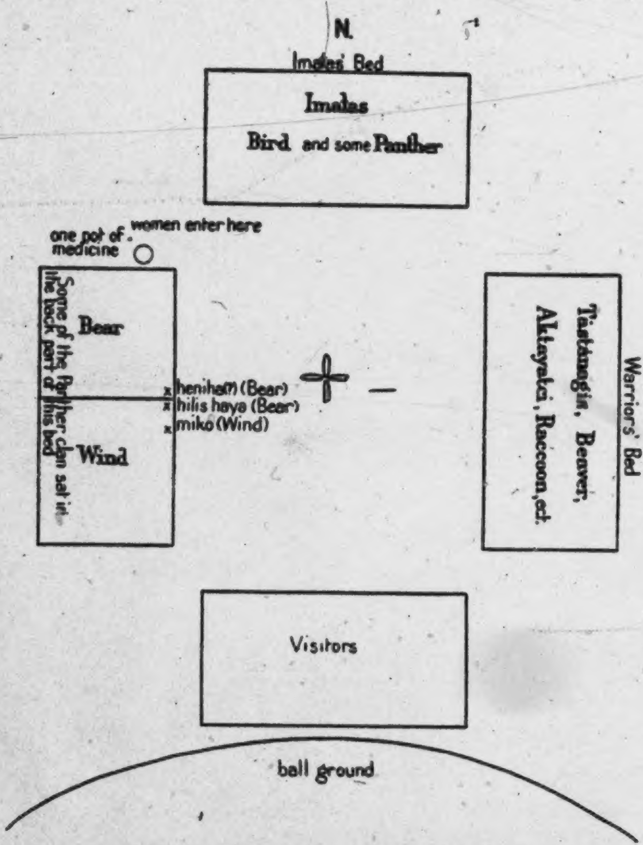
N.
Imalas' Bed
Imalas
Bird and some Panther
one pot of medicine
women enter here
Bear
Wind
Some of the Panther clan sat in the back part of this bed
x heniha(?) (Bear)
x hilis haya (Bear)
x miko (Wind)
Warriors' Bed
Tastanagis, Beaver, Aktayatci, Raccoon, etc.
Visitors
ball ground

FIG. 43.—Plan of the Tuskegee Square Ground (II)

actually formed a little state. In later times many such tálwa were formed by segmentation and they were closely related, but the farther back we go the more distinct do the differences between the various tálwa appear to be. These tálwa might, of course, consist of a number of distinct villages, but, except that they were usually composed of knots of clan relatives, no permanence and no particular coherence attached to these latter.

According to the late Judge James R. Gregory, who belonged to the town of Okmulgee, each tálwa, or at least each of the more important of them, anciently had a special emblem entirely distinct from the totems of the clans. He stated that the Coweta emblem was a wooden eagle marked like a spotted eagle and with blood dripping from its mouth. Whenever an important council was to be held it was brought out and set up in the ground in front of the miko's seat, facing east. The Tukabahchee emblem was an alligator, and the

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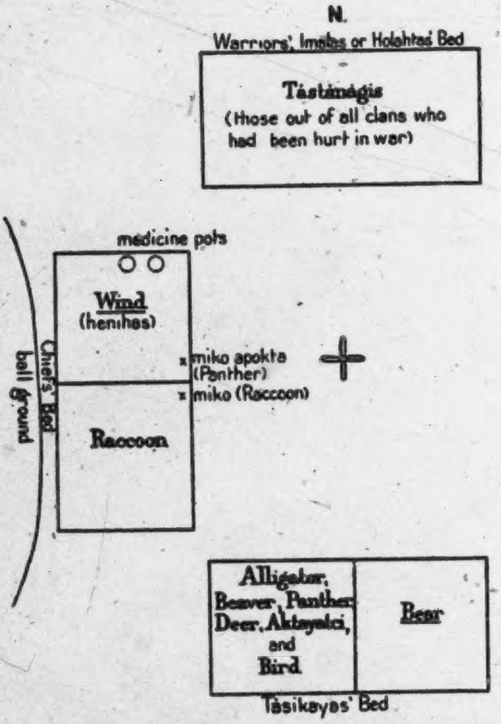
N.
Warriors', Imalas or Holahtas' Bed
Tástanagis
(those out of all clans who had been hurt in war)
medicine pots
Wind
(henihas)
miko apokta
(Panther)
miko (Raccoon)
Chiefs' Bed
ball ground
Raccoon
Alligator, Beaver, Panther, Deer, Aktayatci, and Bird
Bear
Tásikayas' Bed

FIG. 44.—Plan of the Square Ground of Koasati No. 2

four front posts of the miko's bed in the Tukabahchee square were carved in the shapes of alligators. Mr. Gregory showed the writer a stone pipe carved by an old Tukabahchee Indian, on which was an alligator in bold relief represented crawling around it toward the bowl. The Koasati emblem was the gar. The four front posts of the miko's bed in the Koasati square were carved to represent garfishes, and a large figure of a gar was carved out of wood and used in dances. At Atasi the snake was used and the four front posts of the Chiefs' bed were in the same way carved into the forms of snakes.

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This is both interesting and important, and it is in line with what we know regarding the tribes living along both the lower and the upper courses of the Mississippi River. At the same time I have so far been unable to obtain confirmation of this from other Creeks. Of course, Bartram tells us that in his day the posts of the Chiefs' bed at Atasi were carved to resemble snakes, but this can not be accepted as confirmatory evidence because Judge Gregory was perfectly familiar with the writings of Bartram and other early authors. The Alabama and Koasati Indians of Texas claimed some particular right to the garfish, but I have not secured sufficient evidence regarding this to be sure of the nature of their claim. On a previous page I have had occasion to note that the Indians of the Fish Pond towns place wooden fish at the tops of their ball posts, but according to their own explanation this mark is merely suggested to them by the town name. The Eufaula Indians have a wooden eagle in the same place, but they say that this is because the eagle is emblematic of the United States. The other towns all use skulls of horses or cows, which are said to be without significance of any kind.

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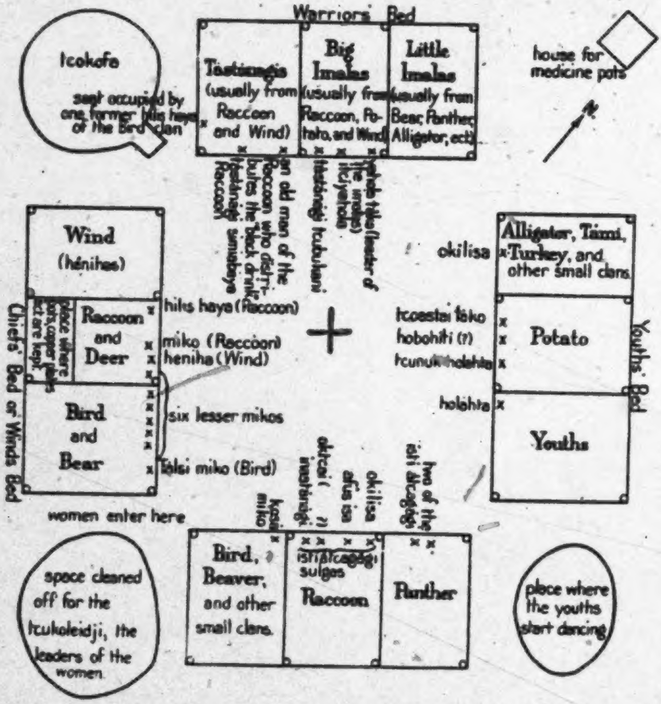
Warriors' Bed
Tcokofa
seat occupied by one former hilis haya of the Bird clan
Tastanagis (usually from Raccoon and Wind)
Big Imalas (usually from Raccoon, Potato, and Wind)
Little Imalas (usually from Bear, Panther, Alligator, etc.)
house for medicine pots
an old man of the Raccoon who distributes the black drink
tastanagi simalaye Raccoon
tastanagi tcukulani
yahola hlks (leader of the imalas)
Wind (hénihas)
place where pots, copper plates, etc. are kept
Raccoon and Deer
Bird and Bear
Chiefs' Bed or Winds Bed
hilis haya (Raccoon)
miko (Raccoon)
heniha (Wind)
six lesser mikos
Tälsi miko (Bird)
okilisa
Alligator, Tämi, Turkey, and other small clans
tcoestai fako
hobohiti (?)
tcunuk holahta
holahta
Potato
Youths
Youths' Bed
women enter here
kasi miko
alrcai (?) imatbinagi
afus isa
okilisa
two of the isti akagagi
istakagagi sulgas
Bird, Beaver, and other small clans
Raccoon
Panther
space cleaned off for the tcukoleidji, the leaders of the women
place where the youths start dancing

FIG. 45.—Plan of the Tukabahchee Square Ground (I)

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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In line with the wooden eagle of Coweta mentioned by Judge Gregory is the wooden statue of a human being which Adair informs us existed in his day in "the head war town of the upper Muskohge country." Tukabahchee is the head war town of the Upper Creeks to-day, but in Adair's time it may have been Łiwahali or Atasi. Adair's words are as follows:

"There is a carved human statue of wood, to which, however, they pay no religious homage. It belongs to the head war town of the upper Muskohge country, and seems to have been originally designed

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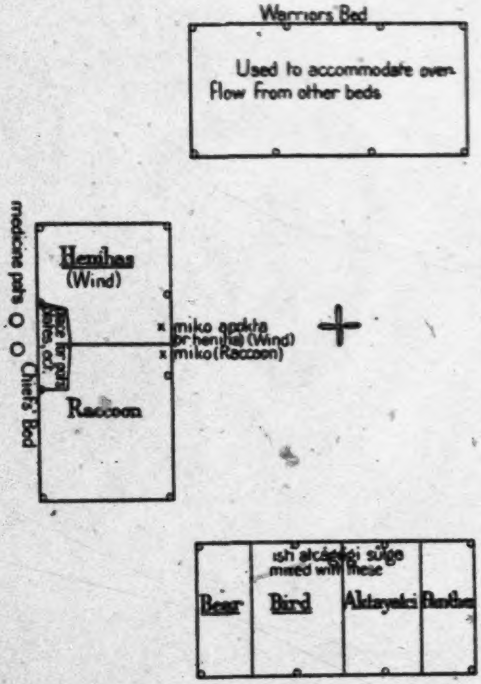
Warriors' Bed
N
Used to accommodate overflow from other beds
Henihas
(Wind)
medicine pots
Chiefs' Bed
x miko apokta (or heniha) (Wind)
x miko (Raccoon)
Raccoon
Youths' Bed
Potato clan, some of Alligator, and any young people getting ready to busk
ish alcágádji sulge mixed with these
Bear
Bird
Aktayatci
Panther

FIG. 46.—Plan of the Tukabahchee Square Ground (II)

to perpetuate the memory of some distinguished hero, who deserved well of his country; for, when their *cusseena*, or bitter, black drink is about to be drank in the synhedrion, they frequently, on common occasions, will bring it there, and honour it with the first conch-shell-full, by the hand of the chief religious attendant: and then they return it to its former place. It is observable, that the same beloved waiter, or holy attendant, and his coadjutant, equally observe the same ceremony to every person of reputed merit, in that quadrangular place. When I past that way, circumstances did not allow me to

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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621 532 view this singular figure; but I am assured by several of the traders who have frequently seen it, that the carving is modest, and very neatly finished, not unworthy of a modern civilized artist." [11]

[302] According to some informants the people of each tälwa formerly had distinctive face paintings, and there were men in every town particularly skilled in applying these. The design for Tuakegee was as shown in the cut (fig. 102).

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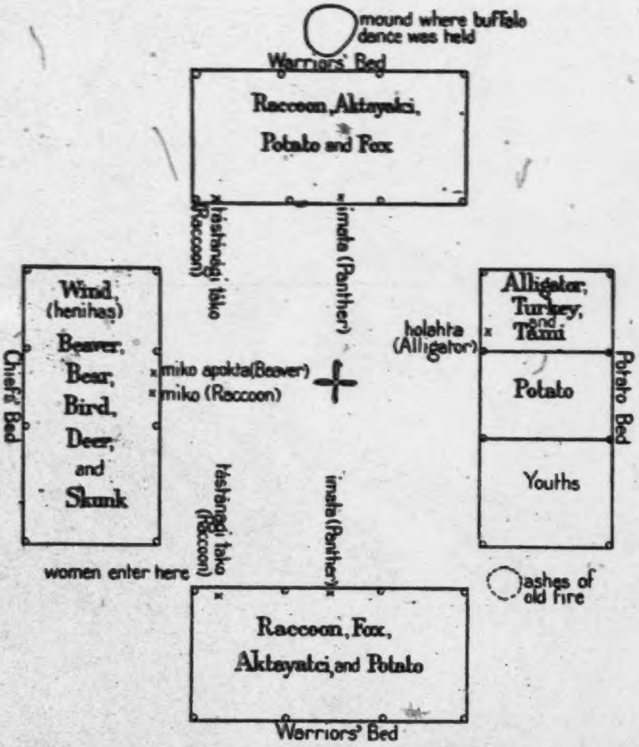
mound where buffalo dance was held
Warriors' Bed
Raccoon, Aktayaki, Potato and Fox
tästänägi täko (Raccoon)
imala (Panther)
Wind, (henihas) Beaver, Bear, Bird, Deer, and Skunk
Chief's Bed
miko apokta (Beaver)
miko (Raccoon)
holahta (Alligator)
Alligator, Turkey, and Tämi
Potato
Youths
Potato Bed
tästänägi täko (Raccoon)
imala (Panther)
women enter here
ashes of old fire
Raccoon, Fox, Aktayatci, and Potato
Warriors' Bed

FIG. 47.—Plan of the Tukabahchee Square Ground (III)

621 A word may be quoted from Stiggins regarding the feeling of unity which subsisted within each town.

"The towns people were frequently assembled at their town house or square in order to keep them united, for the harmony subsisting among the people of a town is noted and seems to be cemented by an affection as strong towards each other as the sons of Jacob of old in their association. As the usages and customs of every town are similar and the men all know the unity and sympathy of a town people, the men of one town will approach another town with seeming diffidence, though the towns may be contiguously situated, and as such is their practice in this their more enlightened time, their approaches toward each other's towns and towards strangers must have been with extreme timidity and caution in their natural and more savage state." [13]

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[11] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 22-23.

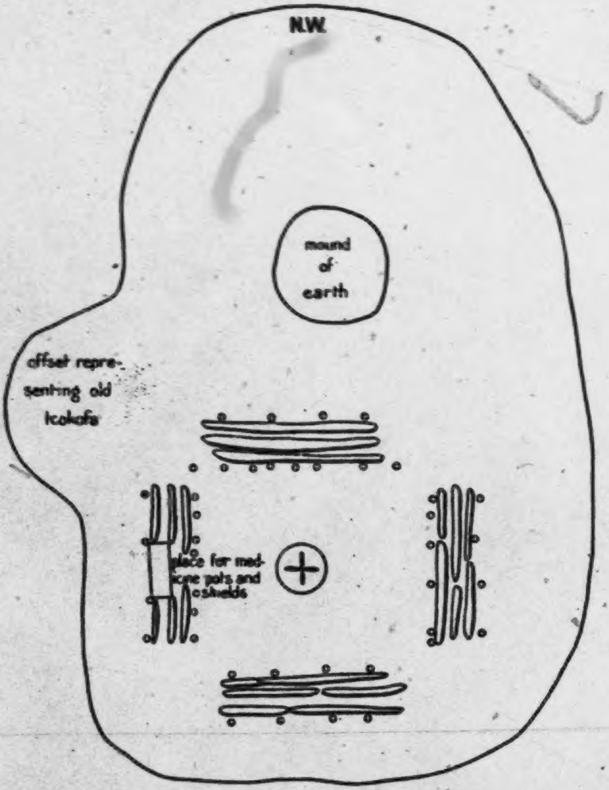
N.W.
mound of earth
offset representing old Icokofa
place for medicine pots and shields

FIG. 46.—Tukabahchee Ceremonial Ground in 1912

In my historical account of the Creek Indians and their neighbors I have taken up in detail the various tribes which constituted the confederacy and the position occupied by each.[12a] It will not be necessary to go over this ground again, except to insert a classification of the tálwa which of itself will serve to recapitulate the points there brought out.

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[13] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 19.

[12a] Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn.

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NATURAL CLASSIFICATION OF CREEK TOWNS

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Muskogee tribes: Kasihta, Coweta, Coosa (including (a) the Tulsa group and (b) the Okfuskee group), Abihka, Holiwahali (or Łiwahali), Hilibi, Eufaula, Wakokai, several Muskogee tribes whose connection with the rest is uncertain, including Atasi, Kolomi, Kan-hatki, Fushatchee, Wiwohka, Kealedji, and tribes such as the Pakana, Okchai, and Tukabahchee, which seem not to have been constituted parts of the original body.

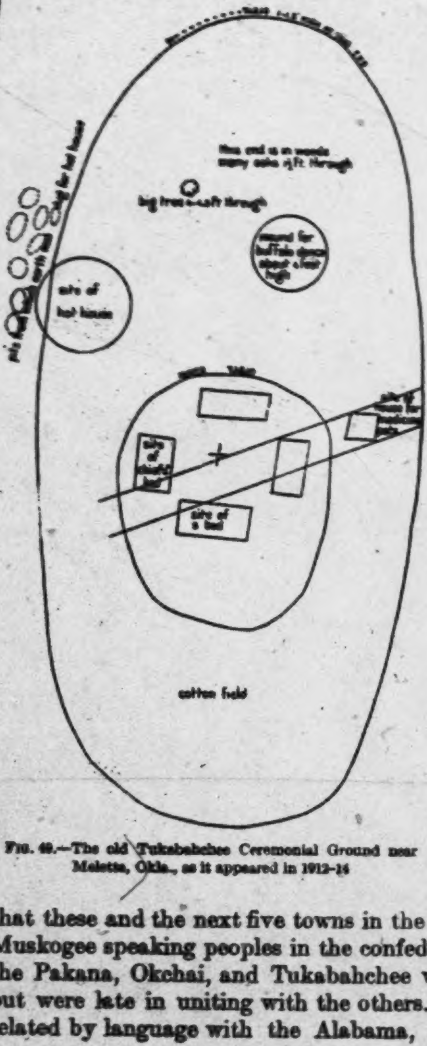

FIG. 49.—The old Tukabahchee Ceremonial Ground near Melette, Okla., as it appeared in 1912-14

Atcik hata (Hitchiti speaking tribes): Hitchiti, Okmulgee, Oconee, Apalachicola, Sawokli, Tamali, Chiaha.

Alabama.

Muklasa.

Koasati.

Tuskegee.

Yuchi.

Natchez.

Shawnee.

Tribes of uncertain connection: Osochi.

To these might almost be added the Chickasaw, since one band of Chickasaw lived with the Creeks for several years and they were all held to be of one fire with the Kasihta. According to the traditions given above the Kasihta and Coweta resulted from the segmentation of one original body, and it is probable that these and the next five towns in the above list were the original Muskogee speaking peoples in the confederacy. It seems likely that the Pakana, Okchai, and Tukabahchee were Muskogee in language but were late in uniting with the others. The Koasati were closely related by language with the Alabama, as was probably the case

Muskogee

with the Tuskegee and Muklasa. There are reasons for thinking 101
that the Osochi may originally have spoken Timucua.[13] 621●

Socially, as has already been indicated, these towns were divided 621
into two classes which may conveniently be called White and Red, 616
respectively, as one set was devoted to the maintenance of peace, 619
[344]

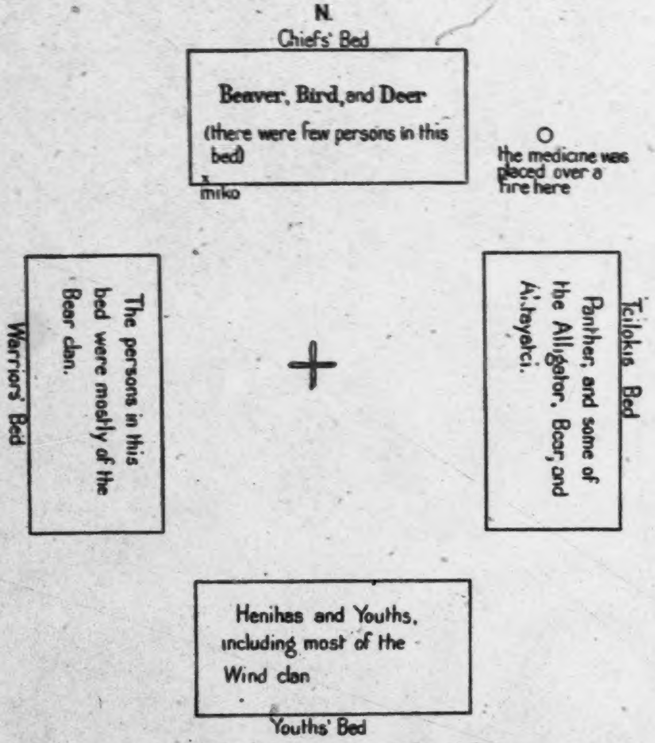
N.
Chiefs' Bed
Beaver, Bird, and Deer
(there were few persons in this bed)
x miko
o
the medicine was placed over a fire here
Warriors' Bed
The persons in this bed were mostly of the Bear clan.
+
Tcilokis Bed
Panther, and some of the Alligator, Bear, and Ai.łayalci.
Henihas and Youths, including most of the Wind clan
Youths' Bed

FIG. 30.—Plan of the Atasi Square Ground (I)

the other to the prosecution of war. There appears, moreover, to [614]
have been some sort of association between White clans and White 621
towns and Red clans and Red towns, the chiefs of the towns of each 619
set being chosen from the corresponding clans.[13a] At the present 177
day, however, the Creeks themselves do not use these names. In fact there are few who can give any well-defined term for the two classes, except to call them "fires" or to call the towns opposed to

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[13] See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 26.

[13a] See pp. 196-197.

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one's own set inkipaya, "opponents." "People of one fire" was used in a very general manner by the southern Indians to indicate an alliance. Adair, for instance, states that he appealed to the Choctaw to be "people of one fire" with the English,[14] and early documents inform us that the Okfuskee towns several times claimed that they and the white settlers of Carolina belonged to the same fire clan—i. e., to the division including the White towns. It is probable that this was partly on account of the complexion of the newcomers and partly from the fact that the White or Peace side was that which usually took in foreign communities.

[344]

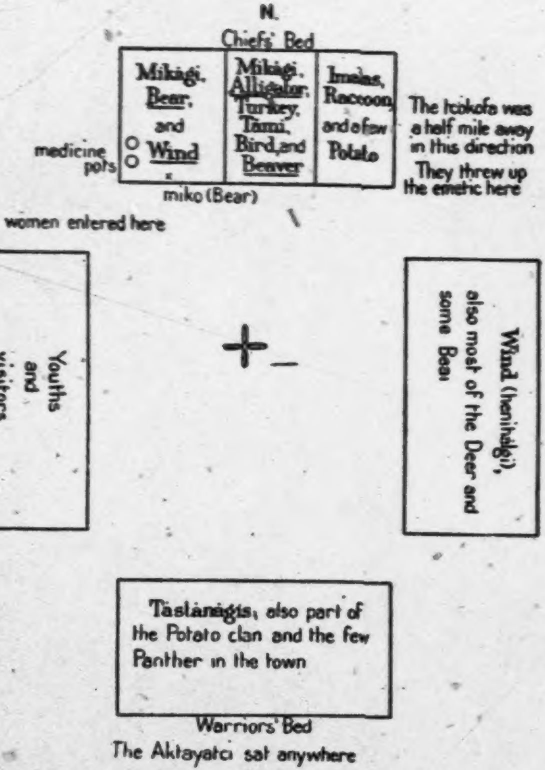
N.
Chiefs' Bed
Mikagi, Bear, and Wind
Mikagi, Alligator, Turkey, Tami, Bird, and Beaver
Imalas, Raccoon, and a few Potato
medicine pots
miko (Bear)
The Icokofa was a half mile away in this direction
They threw up the emetic here
women entered here
Youths and visitors
Wind (henihagi), also most of the Deer and some Bear
Tastanagis, also part of the Potato clan and the few Panther in the town
Warriors' Bed
The Aktayatci sat anywhere

FIG. 51.—Plan of the Atasi Square Ground (II)

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Jackson Lewis used the name Talwa mikagi for the White towns and Ispokogi for the Red towns. The former means "chief or principal towns;" the latter is the esoteric title of Tukabahchee, the most prominent Red town among the Upper Creeks. The first of

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[14] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 329.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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these names is said to have been applied originally to the Bird clan 621 ●
of Otciapofa because a chief of that town and clan inducted the head 619
chief of the confederacy into office. It was extended from the clan to the town of Otciapofa and thence to the group of towns to which Otciapofa belonged. The importance of Otciapofa comes out, also, in the fact that it is known as the "mother" of the Tulsa and Okfuskee towns, and that it was the capital of McGillivray and later the headquarters of Chitto Hadjo or "Crazy Snake," the reactionary leader.

[344]

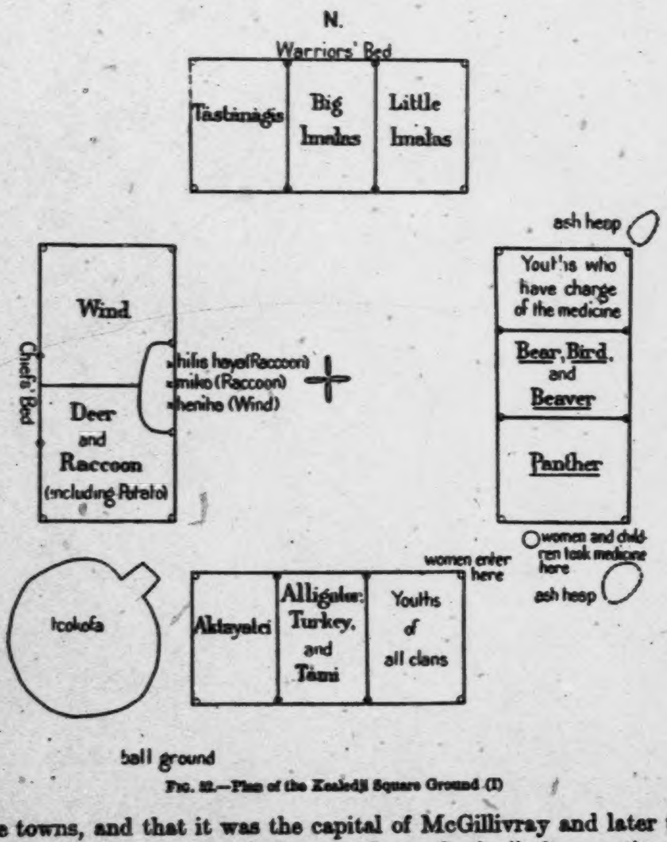
N.
Warriors' Bed
Tastinagis
Big Imalas
Little Imalas
ash heap
Youths who have charge of the medicine
Bear, Bird, and Beaver
Panther
Wind
Chief's Bed
Deer and Raccoon (including Potato)
hilis haya (Raccoon)
miko (Raccoon)
heniha (Wind)
women and children took medicine here
women enter here
ash heap
Itcokofa
Aktayalci
Alligator, Turkey, and Tami
Youths of all clans
ball ground

FIG. 32.—Plan of the Kealedji Square Ground (I)

Apart from the ball games which these towns periodically entered 609
into against each other and their antithetical peace and war func- 619
tions, the attitude which each division maintained toward the other 621
was anciently one of avoidance, if not aversion. According to the late G. W. Grayson there was formerly little intermarriage between them, on account of the mutual jealousy which existed, though there

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was no direct prohibition of such marriages. Towns did not invite those of the opposite fire to the busk ceremony, although usually calling in some of the same fire. In later times, however, such invitations, as well as intermarriages, have been more frequent. Indeed, another informant told me that a man living in a certain town might be classed as a "friend" by his neighbors, although his own proper town was on the opposite side.

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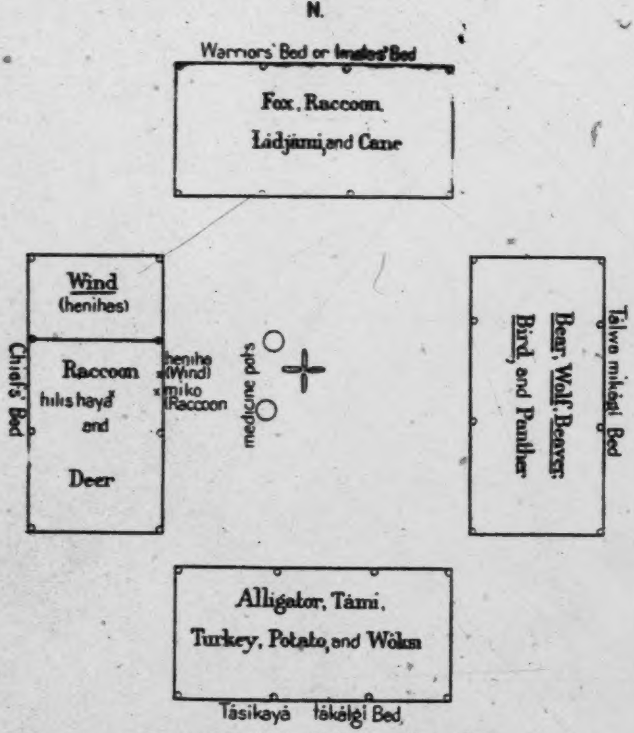
N.
Warriors' Bed or Imalas' Bed
Fox, Raccoon, Lidjimi, and Cane
Wind (henihas)
Raccoon
hilis haya and
Deer
Chiefs' Bed
henihe (Wind)
miko (Raccoon)
medicine pots
Bear, Wolf, Beaver, Bird, and Panther
Talwa mikalgi Bed
Alligator, Tami, Turkey, Potato, and Woksi
Tasikaya takalgi Bed

FIG. 52.—Plan of the Kealedji Square Ground (II)

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Their respective attitudes with reference to peace and war were known to the whites from an early date. Hawkins,[15] Swan,[16] Bartram,[17] and Adair[18] all mention the fact. Bartram states that human blood had never been shed in the town of Apalachicola until an outbreak occurred against the English traders when several who had sought refuge there were put to death, and he adds that this

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[15] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, pp. 51-52.
[16] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 279.
[17] Bartram, Travels, p. 387.
[18] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 159.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

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event was believed to have brought misfortune on the community and to have resulted in breaking it up.[18a] Adair says that "in almost every Indian nation, there are several *peaceable* towns, which are called 'old-beloved,' 'ancient, holy, or white towns;' they seem to have been formerly 'towns of refuge,' for it is not in the memory of their oldest people, that ever human blood was shed in them; although they often force persons from thence, and put them to death elsewhere." "White," he says in a footnote, "is their fixed emblem of peace, friendship, happiness, prosperity, purity, holiness, &c.," and just above he tells us that Coosa, then "reduced to a small ruinous village," was "still a place of safety for those who kill undesignedly."[19]

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[344]

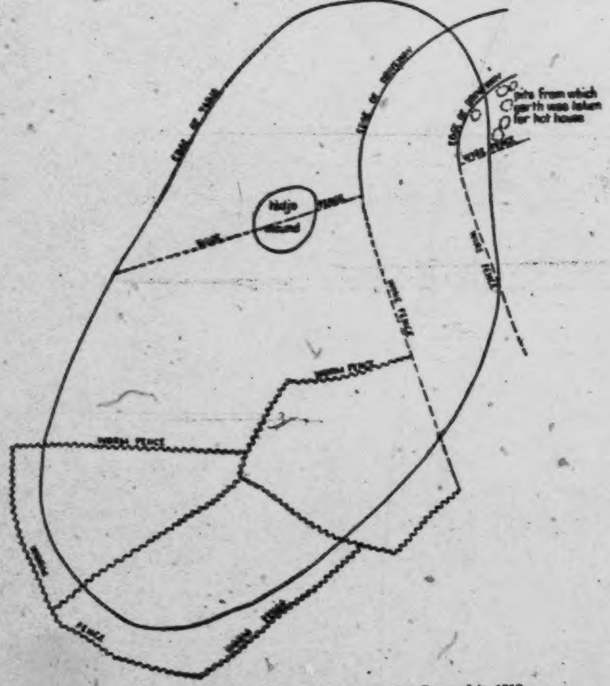

FIG. 54.—Site of the old Kealedji Ceremonial Ground in 1912

Few of my own informants knew anything about these matters, but one of them reported that if a criminal escaped to a White town the pursuers must stop and wait until the affair could be adjusted. He added that if an enemy reached a White town he was safe, though not infrequently he was forced out of it and killed beyond its precincts.

[18a] Bartram, Travels, pp. [illegible].

[19] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 159.

Muskogee

619 •621 [526] The Red towns were said to carry red beads, the White towns white beads. In modern times their functions were well-nigh reduced to determining what towns were to play with and against each other in the ball games.

[344]

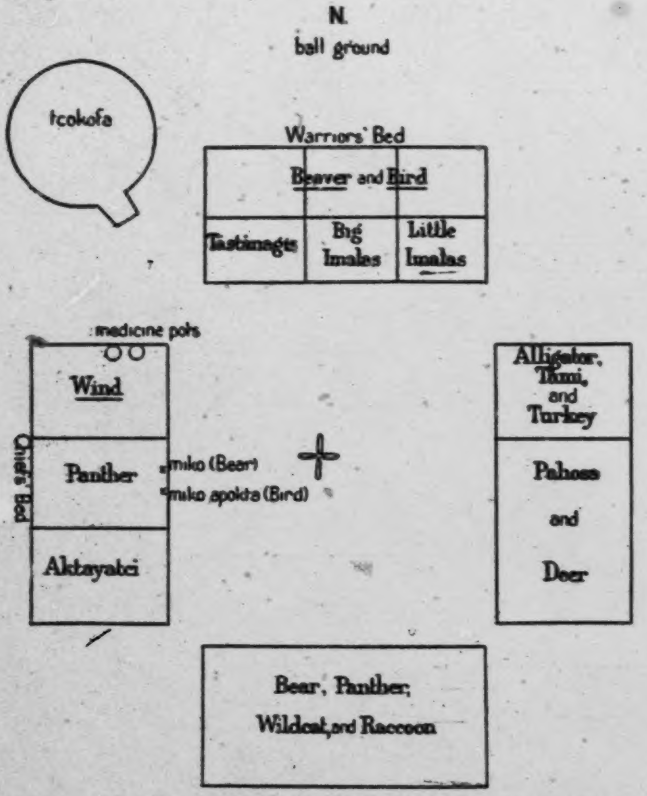
N.
ball ground
tcokofa
Warriors' Bed
Beaver and Bird
Tastinagis
Big Imalas
Little Imalas
medicine pots
Wind
Chiefs' Bed
Panther
miko (Bear)
miko apokta (Bird)
Aktayatci
Alligator, Tami, and Turkey
Pahoss and Deer
Bear, Panther, Wildcat, and Raccoon

FIG. 55.—Plan of the Łapłako Square Ground (I)

619 101 Following is a list of towns as classified to-day in accordance with the best information available:

WHITE

Kasihta.
Apalachicola.
Hitchiti.
Sawokli.
Okmulgee.
Kawaigi.
Okitiyagana.
Yuchi.[39]
Coosa.
Otciapofa.
Tulsa Little River.
Tulsa Canadian.
Lutcapoga.
Okfuskee.
Tcatoksofka.
Abihkutci.
Nuyaka.
Abihka.
Abihka-in-the-West.
Talladega.
Kan-tcati.
Wakokai.
Wiogufki.
Tukpafka.
Wiwohka.
Pakan tallahassee.
Okchai.
Łálogálga.
Asilanabi.
Koasati (1 and 2).
Tuskegee.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

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RED

Coweta.
Łikatcka.
Chiaha.[29]
Osochi.
Hotalgihuyana.
Eufaula.
Eufaula Hobayi.
Tukabahchee.
Kealedji.
Hatchee tcaba.
Atasi.
Hoĺiwahali.
Łapłako.
Hilibi.
Kitcopataki.
Tallahasutci or Sakapadai.
Talmutcasi.
Alabama.

344

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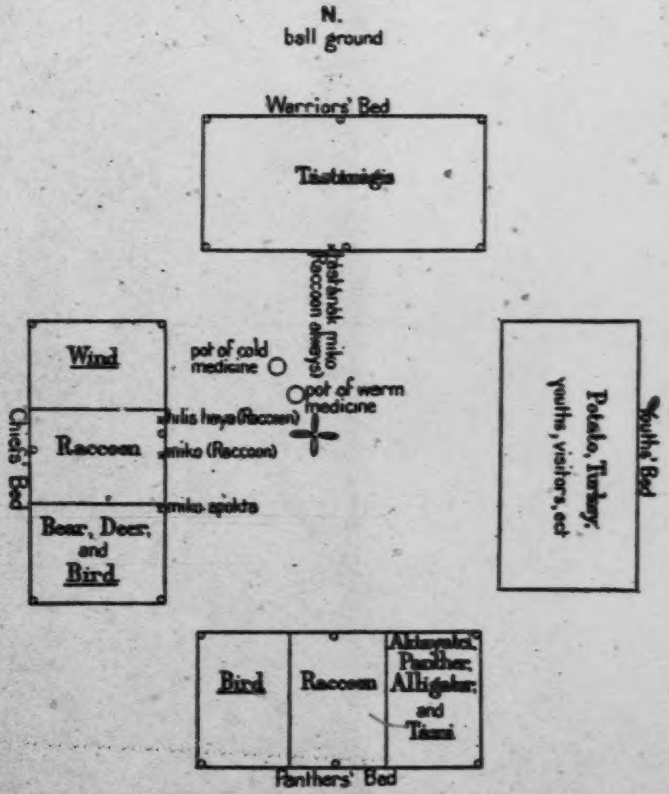
N.
ball ground
Warriors' Bed
Tastanagis
Tastanok miko (Raccoon always)
Wind
pot of cold medicine
pot of warm medicine
Chiefs' Bed
hulis haya (Raccoon)
miko (Raccoon)
Raccoon
miko apokta
Bear, Deer, and Bird
Youths' Bed
Potato, Turkey, youths, visitors, etc
Bird
Raccoon
Aktayatci, Panther, Alligator, and Tami
Panthers' Bed

FIG. 56.—Plan of the Łapłako Square Ground (II)

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This classification was in the main agreed to by everybody, but there were differences of opinion on minor points. One informant thought that Wiwohka used to play on either side indifferently, but others explained that this was only an appearance due to the number of persons who had married into the town from outside. Some said that Tallahasutci or Sakapadai belonged on the White side. Two informants thought that Kossati was a Red town, a conclusion which

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[29] The relative position of Chiaha and Yuchi is confirmed by David Taitt who mentions a ball game May 3, 1772, in which the former defeated the latter (Mereness, Trav. in Am. Col., p [illegible]).

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

Muskogee
Seminole NN16

C.
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According to Silas Jefferson the Chiaha were the chief opponents of the Tuskegee after they had removed to Oklahoma, but the latter played frequently with the Wiwohka, and sometimes with the Hilibi, and, in the old country, against the Alabama. The Hitchiti and Apalachicola were usually matched against the Atasi.

C.
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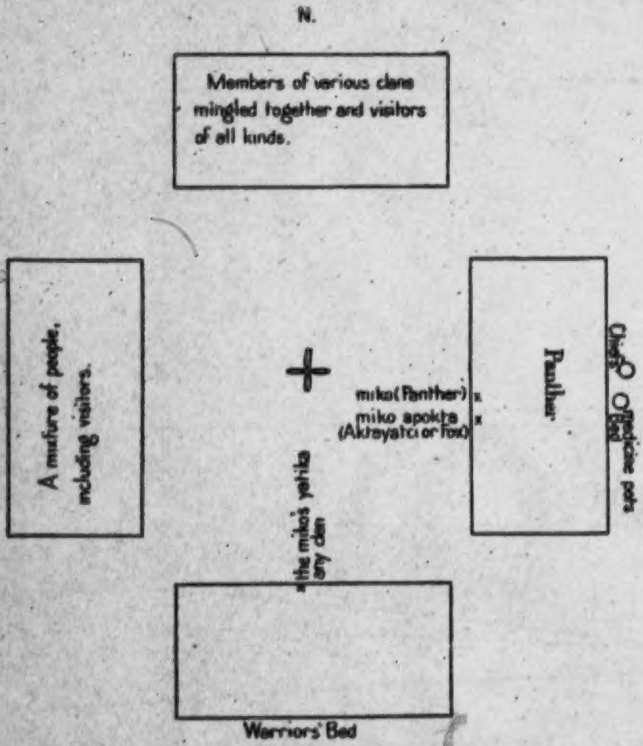
N.
Members of various clans mingled together and visitors of all kinds.
A mixture of people, including visitors.
Panther
Chief O
Medicine pots
Bed
miko (Panther) x
miko apokta x
(Akfayatci or Fox)
the mikos yatika
any clan
Warriors' Bed

FIG. 58.—Plan of the Líwahali Square Ground

S.
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The corresponding division among the Seminole in Oklahoma is said to have been as follows:

White	Red
Okfuskee	Eufaula.
Tallahassutci	Líwahali (including the Fus-hatchee and Kan-hatki).
Ocheese	Chiaha.
Hitchiti	Mikasuki.

This agrees perfectly with the alignment among the Creeks if, as I now suspect, the Mikasuki were a branch of the Chiaha Indians instead of the Hitchiti proper.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

Muskogee

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At the end of the eighteenth century Benjamin Hawkins, first agent of the American Government to the Southern Indians, undertook to knit the Creeks into a firmer and more responsible organization. To carry out this plan the towns were placed in nine classes, and one or two individuals were selected to represent each. The nine classes are given as follows:

1. Okchai, Wiwohka, Pakan tallahassee, Opilłako, and Łalogalga.
2. Kealedji and Eufaula.

[347 •621]

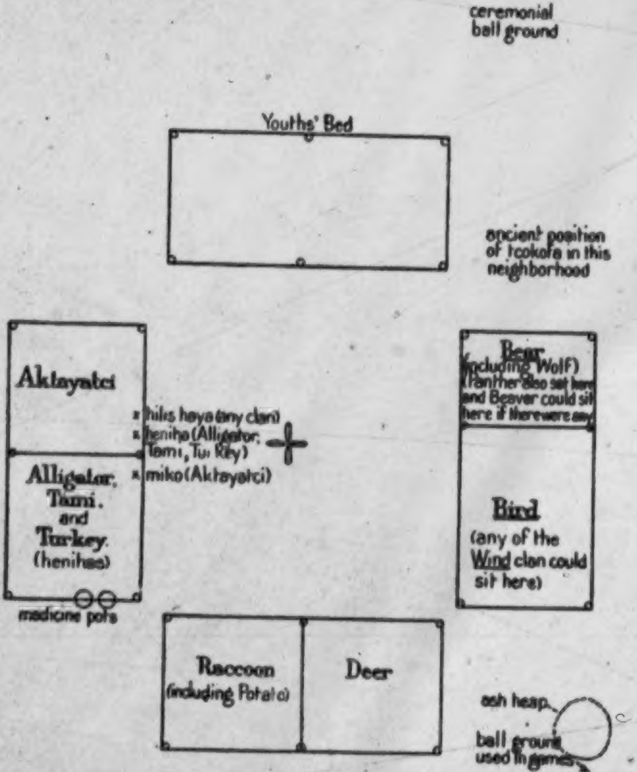
ceremonial ball ground
Youths' Bed
ancient position of tcokofa in this neighborhood
Aktayatci
hilis haya (any clan)
heniha (Alligator, Tami, Turkey)
miko (Aktayatci)
Alligator, Tami, and Turkey (henihas)
medicine pots
Bear (including Wolf) (Panther also sat here and Beaver could sit here if there were any)
Bird (any of the Wind clan could sit here)
Raccoon (including Potato)
Deer
ash heap
ball ground used in games

FIG. 89.—Plan of the Hilibi Square Ground

3. Hilibi, Wakokai, and Potcas hatchee.
4. Abihkutci, Natchez, Coosa, and Eufaula hatchee.
5. Holiwahali, Kan-hatki, Sawanogi, Muklasa, and Tukabahchee.
6. Okfuskee and its branches Sukaispoga, Nuyaka, Imukfa, Tukabahchee Tallahassee, Tohtogagi, Achinaulga, Okfuskutci, and Ipisagi.
7. Otciapofa and Tuskegee.
8. Tulsa, Atasi, Fus-hatchee, and Kolomi.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NNL1 Creek NN11
Muskogee

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Our knowledge of the former is limited, however, by the fragmentary condition of the origin legends, and our ability to interpret the latter is also seriously hampered by the disappearance of much of the data necessary to a proper understanding of them. In the best preserved migration legends, which are from the Lower Creeks and indeed from the single town of Kasihta, we find that the names of the Coweta, Kasihta, and Chickasaw are constantly associated. The Chickasaw certainly had a distinct origin, and are evidently introduced because they were friends of the Kasihta and were considered to belong to the same fire clan as that tribe; that is, "Chickasaw" was reckoned as a "White town." It is also worthy of note that in the very earliest version the Coweta are not mentioned until after the immigrants had reached Georgia, where it is implied that

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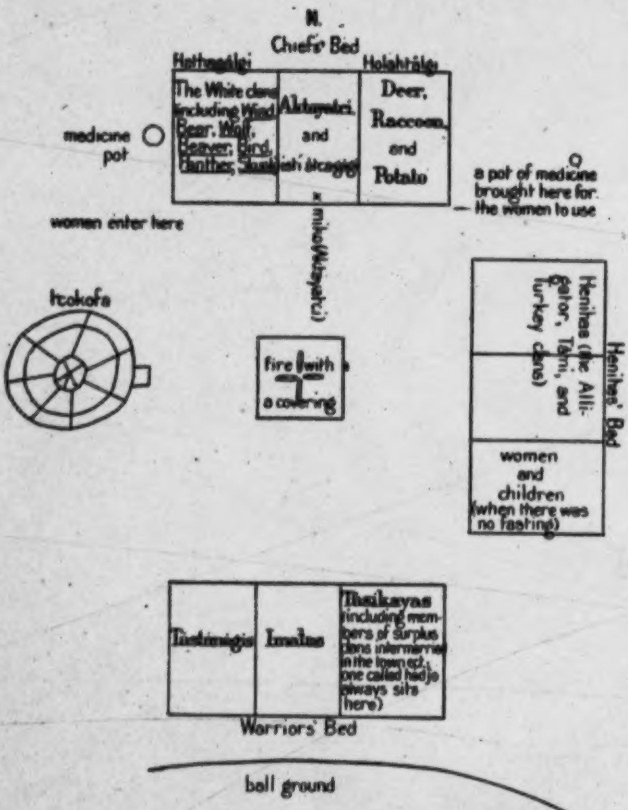
N.
Chiefs' Bed
Hathagalgi
Holahtâlgi
The White clans including Wind, Bear, Wolf, Beaver, Bird, Panther, Skunk
Aktayatci, and ishi ätcagagi
Deer, Raccoon, and Potato
medicine pot
a pot of medicine brought here for the women to use
women enter here
miko (Aktayatci)
Itcokofa
fire (with a covering
Henihas (the Alligator, Tami, and turkey clans)
Henihas' Bed
women and children (when there was no fasting)
Tastanagis
Imalas
Tcaikayas (including members of surplus clans intermarried in the town etc., one called hadjo always sits here)
Warriors' Bed
ball ground

FIG. 61.—Plan of the Eufaula Square Ground (I)

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

Muskogee

the Kasihta separated into two parts, the Kasihta and Coweta. It is also to be noted that the Abihka are sometimes added, though in the Hawkins version the Abihka are said to have been encountered on Coosa River. The Alabama are mentioned once, and then perhaps merely to make out the formula number four. It seems evident from these stories that the Kasihta and Coweta were always considered

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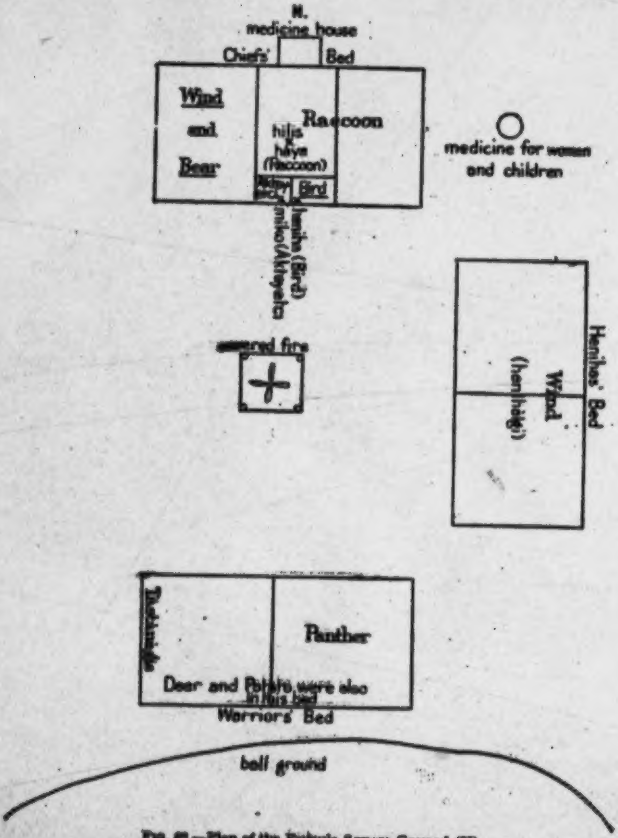
N.
medicine house
Chiefs' Bed
Wind and Bear
Raccoon
hilis haya (Raccoon)
Bird
henihe (Bird)
miko (Akayats)
medicine for women and children
sacred fire
Henihas' Bed
Wind (henihalgi)
Tastanagis
Panther
Deer and Potato were also in this bed
Warriors' Bed
ball ground

FIG. 62.—Plan of the Eufaula Square Ground (II)

closely related. Their connection with the Abihka is more remote, but it is interesting to find it recognized as closer than their connection with the Coosa. The Coosa appear only in the Chekilli narrative as a people encountered by the Kasihta and their allies on their journey eastward. In confirmation of this we find that in the Tulsa narrative, and in that of Milfort, the two which probably represent the Coosa story, the Kasihta and Coweta are not mentioned; indeed

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NNll Creek NNll
Alabama

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642

Coosa, and Coweta. The oldest Upper Creek town on the Red side was probaby Łiwahali, but we do not know what its ancient relations were with Kasihta and Coweta. As between Coweta and Tukabahchee, we have some inkling of the mythic foundation for the friendship existing between them, in myths already given, and it is noteworthy that, if we take the testimony of a Tulsa Indian—which should have been comparatively unbiased—as well as that which may be derived from historical sources, Coweta was then the more important. The myths also tell us something of the relations between Łiwahali, Atasi, and Tukabahchee, but it is probable that the first was already a friend of Coweta, Łiwahali having been long settled in the Upper Creek country.[34] From the scraps of information we can gather it would appear that Hilibi and Eufaula had once been situated farther east, and they may have been Red towns from early times. Altogether, it appears that the Red towns were fewer and mutually more independent than the White towns. With the exception of Coweta and its branch Łikatcha, the two Eufaulas, Upper and Lower, and probably Tukabahchee, Atasi, Kealedji, and Hatchee tcaba, the Red towns do not fall into well marked family

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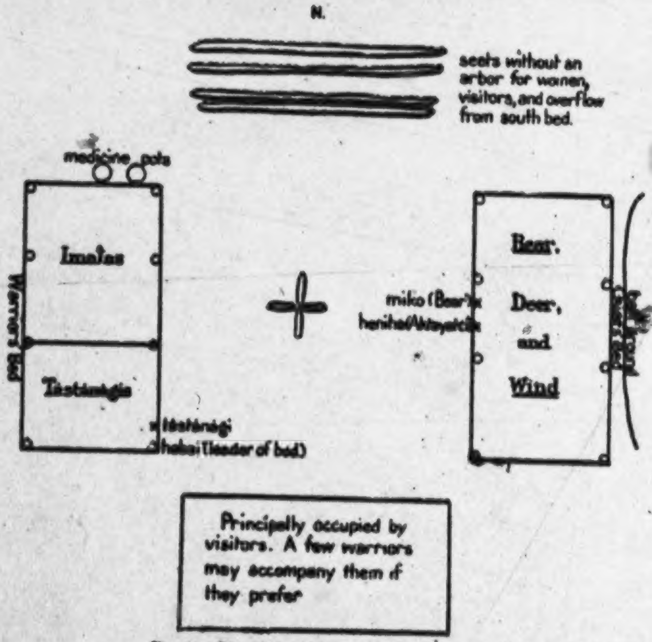
N.
seats without an arbor for women, visitors, and overflow from south bed.
medicine pots
Imalas
Warriors' bed
Tastanagis
tastanagi
hakai (leader of bed)
miko (Bear)
henihal
Bear.
Deer,
and
Wind
Principally occupied by visitors. A few warriors may accompany them if they prefer

FIG. 84.—Plan of the Alabama Square Ground (I)

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[34] Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 264-[illegible].

1; Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Alabama

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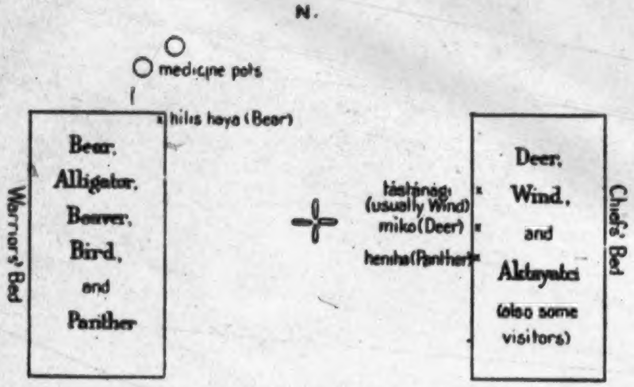
N.
medicine pots
hilis haya (Bear)
Warriors' Bed
Bear,
Alligator,
Beaver,
Bird,
and
Panther
tāshinagi
(usually Wind)
miko (Deer)
heniha (Panther)
Deer,
Wind,
and
Akbayatci
(also some
visitors)
Chiefs' Bed

FIG. 65.—Plan of the Alabama Square Ground (II)

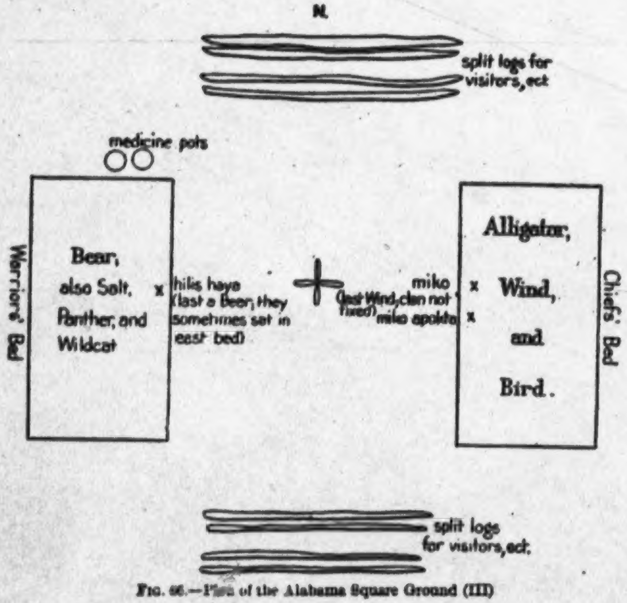
N.
split logs for
visitors, ect
medicine pots
Warriors' Bed
Bear,
also Salt,
Panther, and
Wildcat
hilis haya
(last a Bear, they
sometimes sat in
east bed)
miko
(last Wind, clan not
fixed)
miko apokta
Alligator,
Wind,
and
Bird.
Chiefs' Bed
split logs
for visitors, ect.

FIG. 66.—Plan of the Alabama Square Ground (III)

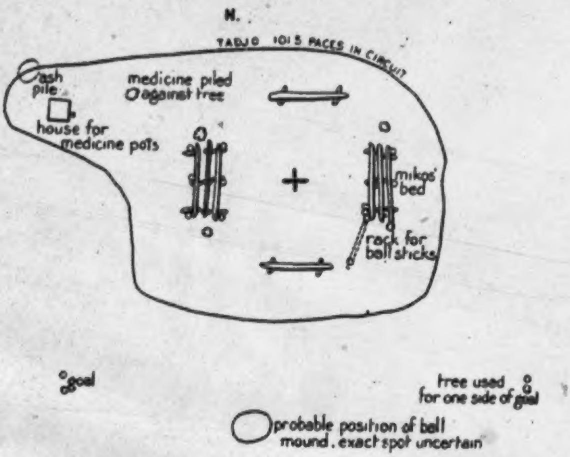
N.
TADJO 1015 PACES IN CIRCUIT
ash pile
medicine piled against tree
house for medicine pots
mikos' bed
rack for ball sticks
goal
tree used for one side of goal
probable position of ball mound. exact spot uncertain

FIG. 67.—The Alabama Ceremonial Ground in 1912

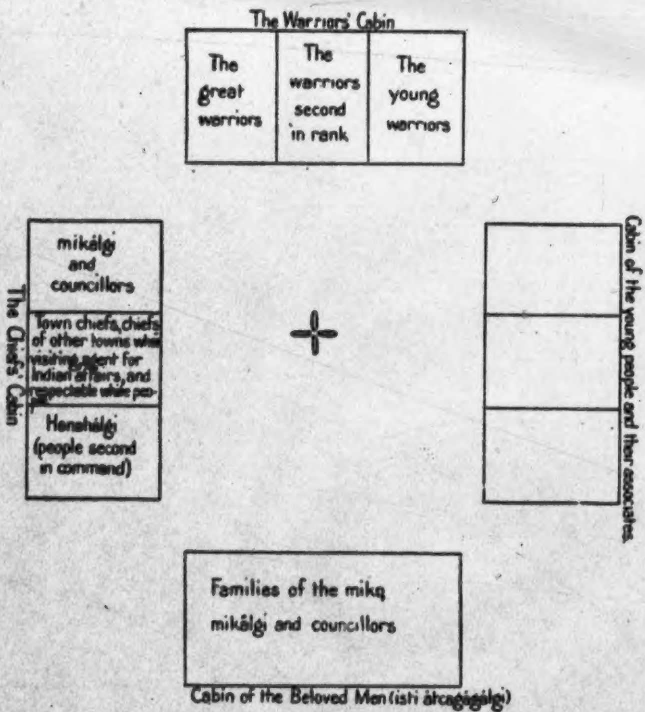
The Warriors' Cabin
The great warriors
The warriors second in rank
The young warriors
The Chiefs' Cabin
mikálgi and councillors
Town chiefs, chiefs of other towns when visiting, agent for Indian affairs, and respectable white people
Henehálgi (people second in command)
Cabin of the young people and their associates
Families of the mikọ mikálgi and councillors
Cabin of the Beloved Men (isti ătcagagálgi)

FIG. 68.—Plan of the Kasihta Square Ground (from Hawkins)

1: Swanton II-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

Muskogee

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groups. And with the exception of Tukabahchee and its associates, which, although later comers, were probably Muskogee in speech, there were few towns on this side of alien blood. The only certain exceptions, in fact, were Chiaha and Osochi. The former, in some way or other, had early entered upon terms of the greatest intimacy with Coweta, and it is probable that the Osochi had come into the same relation by first entering upon terms of friendship with the Chiaha. This substantiates a statement of one of my informants that "most of the foreign towns were taken in upon the White side" because it was the side which made a business of peacemaking. In late years the Alabama have joined the Red towns, but this, as we have seen,[28] was probably due to a difference with the Okchai with

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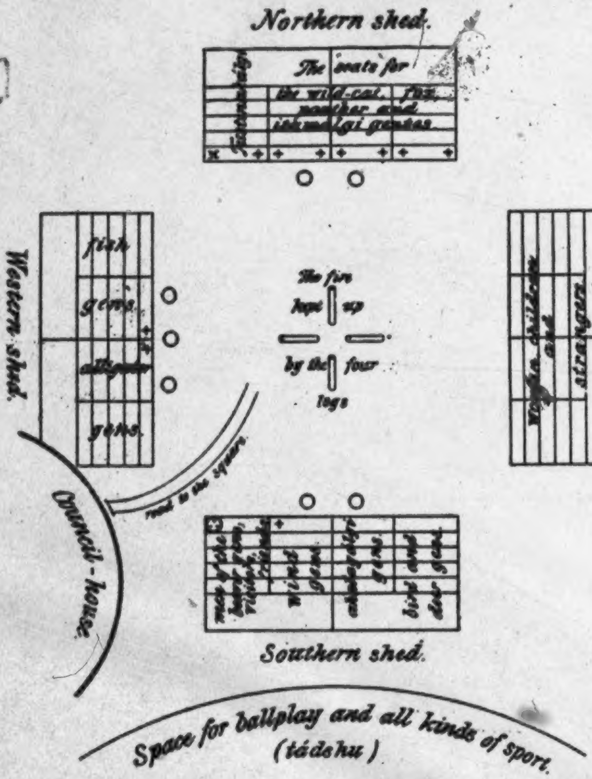
Northern shed.
The seats for
the wild-cat, fox,
panther and
ishmalgi gentes
Western shed.
fish
gens
alligator
gens
The fire
kept up
by the four
logs
Eastern shed.
Young children and strangers
Council-house.
road to the square
Southern shed.
Space for ballplay and all kinds of sport.
(tádshu)

FIG. 69.—Plan of the Kasihta Square Ground (from Gatschet)

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[28] See p. 224.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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whom they had temporarily united. With Kasihta there came to be associated all of the Hitchiti-speaking towns—except Chiaha and Osochi—the Yuchi, and even the Chickasaw, while among the Upper Creeks, the Okchai, Tuskegee, Koasati, and—originally—the Alabama were White. To these the Pakan tallahassee should perhaps be added. The number of White towns was also augmented by the splitting up of Coosa into Okfuskee and its branches, Otciapofa and 173 642

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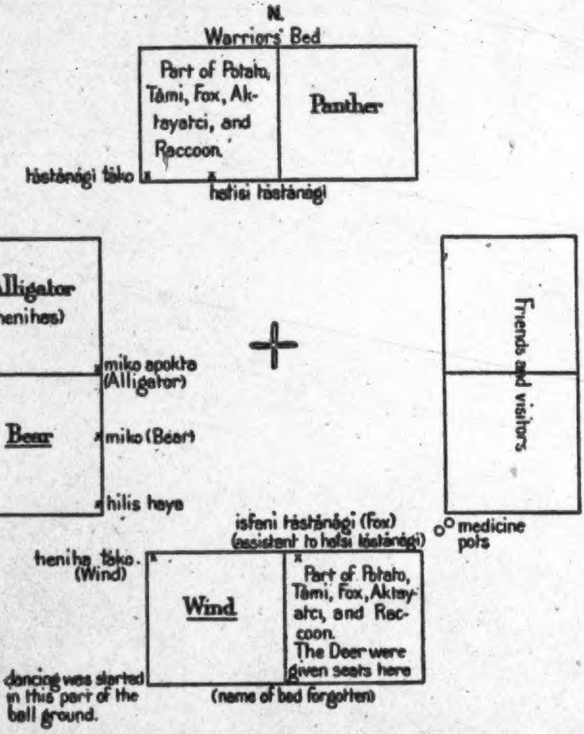
N.
Warriors' Bed
Part of Potato, Tămi, Fox, Aktayatci, and Raccoon.
Panther
hăstănăgi tăko
hatisi hăstănăgi
Alligator (henihas)
Chiefs' Bed
miko apokta (Alligator)
Bear
miko (Bear)
hilis haya
Friends and visitors
isfani hăstănăgi (Fox) (assistant to hatisi hăstănăgi)
medicine pots
heniha tăko. (Wind)
Wind
Part of Potato, Tămi, Fox, Aktayatci, and Raccoon.
The Deer were given seats here
dancing was started in this part of the ball ground.
(name of bed forgotten)

FIG. 70.—Plan of the Kasihta Square Ground (III)

the Tulsa towns, while it is probable that the Wakokai towns came from these or from the Abihka.

Along with the introduction of foreign elements we should look for greater clan complexity, and this, as has already been indicated, we seem to find. Of course, the appearance and disappearance of clans need have nothing to do with outside elements, but where we observe an association between certain clans and such elements the suggestion that the association is more than accidental naturally arises. In any event such associations are worth noting for their 642 614

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possible bearing on future investigations. Thus the Mole, Toad, Tcokote, and Snake clans are found associated most closely with the Hitchiti-speaking communities, and with the Seminole settlements, which are known to have contained a considerable Hitchiti element. The Kapitca and Pahosa, which are especially prominent among the Seminole, may have had a similar origin. The Salt and Daddy-longlegs clans are similarly associated with the Alabama, the Eagle, Woksi, and Łidjami with the Tukabahchee and related towns and the Raccoon with the Tukabahchee and Okchai, as also the Abihka. The Turkey and Wildcat are the most conspicuous clans among the Koasati at the present time, though the latter at least was widely distributed. Turning to the purer Muskogee divisions we find that the Aktayatci is most conspicuous among the Hilibi, the Eufaula, and in the Wiogufki groups of towns and that the Beaver clan attains special prominence in the Tulsa towns, although it is also a pronounced

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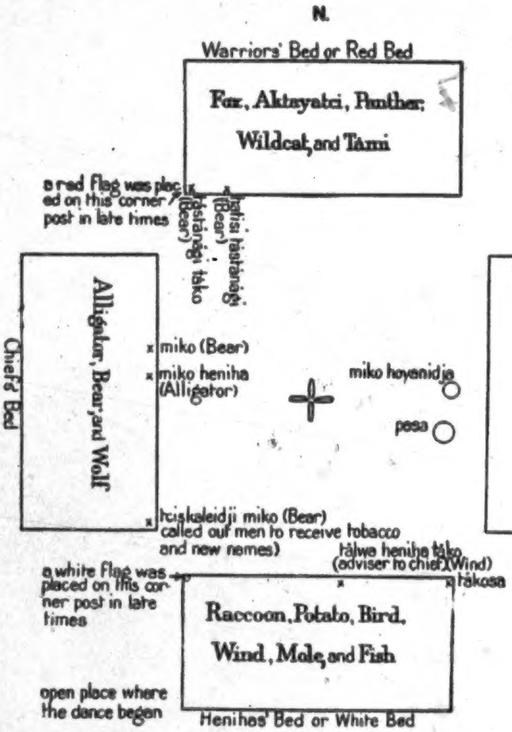
N.
Warriors' Bed or Red Bed
Fox, Aktayatci, Panther, Wildcat, and Tami
a red flag was placed on this corner post in late times
tastanági tåko (Bear)
Isfisi tastanági (Bear)
Chief's Bed
Alligator, Bear, and Wolf
miko (Bear)
miko heniha (Alligator)
miko hoyanidja
pasa
tcigkaleidji miko (Bear) called out men to receive tobacco and new names)
tålwa heniha tåko (adviser to chief)(Wind)
tåkosa
a white flag was placed on this corner post in late times
Raccoon, Potato, Bird, Wind, Mole, and Fish
open place where the dance began
Henihas' Bed or White Bed

FIG. 71.—Plan of the Kasihta Square Ground (IV)

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factor among the Alabama and Koasati of Texas and Louisiana. The Skunk is conspicuous among towns of the Okfuskee connection, while the Alligator, Fish, and Potato people seem more in evidence among the Lower Creeks than elsewhere. Although very widely distributed, the Wind and Bear seem most prominent and influential in towns supposed to be pure Muskogee.

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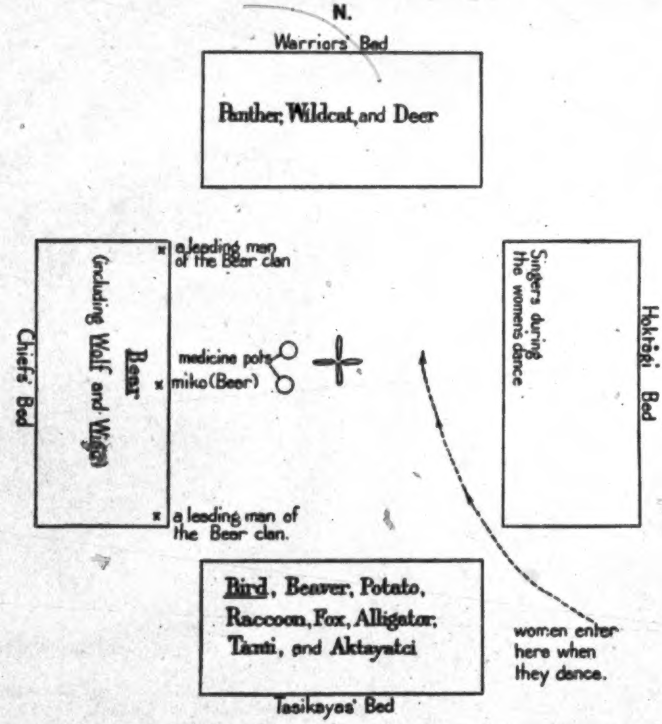
N.
Warriors' Bed
Panther, Wildcat, and Deer
a leading man of the Bear clan
Chiefs' Bed
Bear (including Wolf and Wind)
medicine pots
miko (Bear)
a leading man of the Bear clan
Singers during the women's dance
Hoktiġi Bed
Bird, Beaver, Potato, Raccoon, Fox, Alligator, Tami, and Aktayatci
women enter here when they dance.
Tasikayas' Bed

FIG. 72.—Plan of the Okmulgee Square Ground

It will also be of interest to compare the clan divisions found within the Creek confederacy with those among surrounding tribes belonging to the same totemic area. These include the Timucua of northern Florida, the Chickasaw, and the Cherokee, to which perhaps may be added the Natchez living among the Cherokee and the Yuchi. There were also exogamous divisions among some of the eastern Siouan tribes and we must allow for the possibility that there existed a connection between the totemic system of the Chickasaw and those of the Caddo and Chitimacha. Upon the whole, however, it would

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seem most probable that the Caddo and Chitimacha areas were independent of the Chickasaw.

On comparing the clans found among the first tribes which we have mentioned we find at once that the clan names most widely extended were those of the Deer and Bird which appear among all these peoples. The reader should be warned at the beginning, however, that some of the other Cherokee clan names may originally have referred metaphorically to animals and that some of the as yet untranslated Timucua clan names may be of totemic significance.

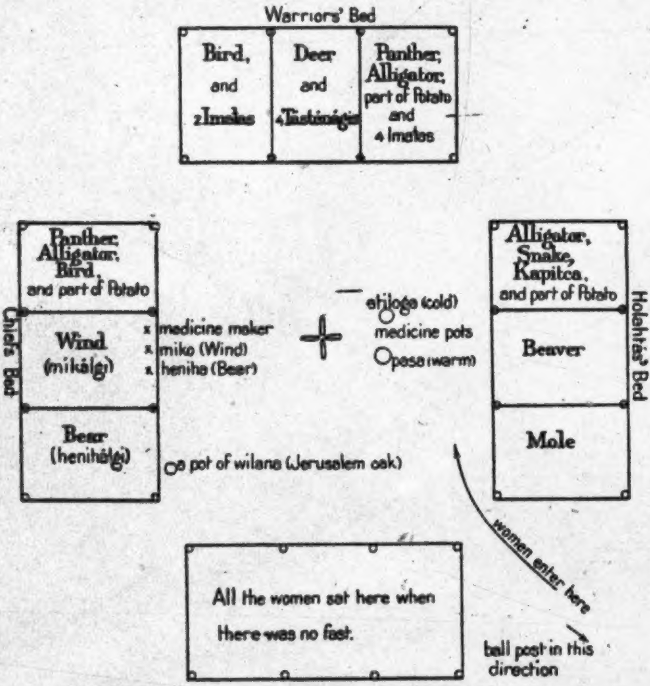
Warriors' Bed
Bird, and 2 Imalas
Deer and 4 Tastinagis
Panther, Alligator, part of Potato and 4 Imalas
Panther, Alligator, Bird, and part of Potato
Chief's Bed
Wind (mikálgi)
Bear (henihálgi)
medicine maker
miko (Wind)
heniha (Bear)
ahiloga (cold)
medicine pots
pesa (warm)
pot of wilana (Jerusalem oak)
Alligator, Snake, Kapitca, and part of Potato
Beaver
Mole
Holahtas' Bed
women enter here
All the women sat here when there was no fast.
ball post in this direction

FIG. 73.—Plan of the Apalachicola Square Ground (Tálwa láko) (I)

A Panther clan is found among the Timucua, Natchez, Chickasaw, Yuchi, and Creeks, a Bear clan among all of these except the Chickasaw, a Fish clan among all except the Natchez, and a Raccoon clan among all but the Timucua. A Wolf clan existed among the Cherokee, Yuchi, and Creeks, as also among the Chickasaw if we may trust Morgan; in Florida it may have been represented by the Dog clan. The Wildcat is mentioned specifically only among the Chickasaw, Yuchi, and Creeks, but wherever there was a Panther clan a Wildcat clan is apt to make its appearance sooner or later associated

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with it. There was a Fox clan among the Yuchi and Creeks, a White Fox clan in Florida, and a Fox or Red Fox clan among the Chickasaw; a Skunk clan among the Chickasaw, Yuchi, and Creeks; and Wind and Beaver clans among the Natchez, Yuchi, and Creeks. Morgan reports a Chickasaw Alligator clan, and one of my own informants gave the Alligator as a Yuchi clan, but Speck makes no mention of it. It was, of course, well known to the Creeks. A Snake clan makes its appearance among the Natchez, the Creeks, and probably the Yuchi. Spanish clans (Isfani) played a rather important

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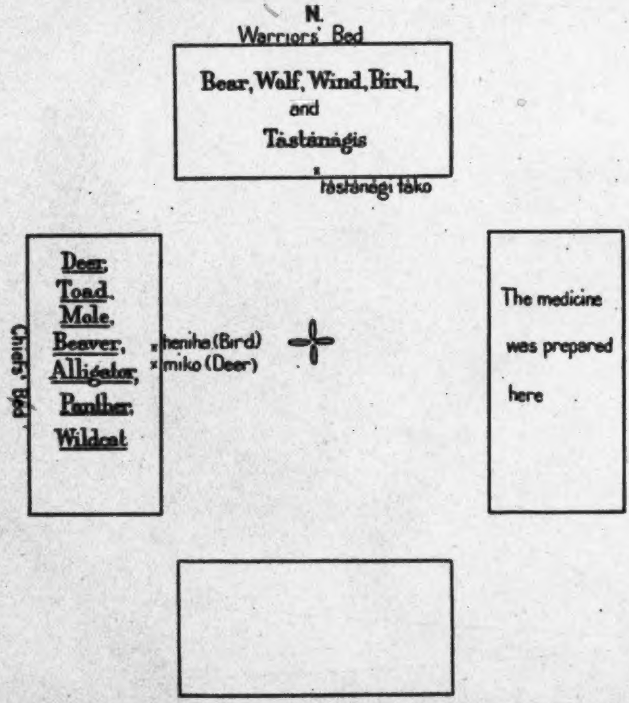
N.
Warriors' Bed
Bear, Wolf, Wind, Bird, and Tästänägis
tästänägi łäko
Chiefs' Bed
Deer,
Toad,
Mole,
Beaver,
Alligator,
Panther,
Wildcat
henihe (Bird)
miko (Deer)
The medicine was prepared here

Fig. 74.—Plan of the Apalachicola Square Ground (Tálwa łáko) (II)

part in the Creek and Chickasaw nations, but the Buzzard clan, which seems to have attained great prominence in Florida, is entirely wanting among the people north of it except possibly the Yuchi. The only subdivision corresponding to the Earth clan of the Timucua was an obscure Creek division mentioned only by one authority and called the Fresh Land clan. A Squirrel clan is reported by Morgan from the Chickasaw and by Speck from the Yuchi, and Morgan is confirmed by some evidence which I myself collected. A Partridge

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clan is found only in Florida, and a Chief clan only among the Chickasaw. The Blackbird which Morgan reports as existing among the Chickasaw and the Haloba recorded among the same people by Gibbs are equally unique.

The order of distribution would, therefore, be something like this:

1. Bird, Deer.
2. Panther (and Wildcat).
3. Bear, Fish, Raccoon.

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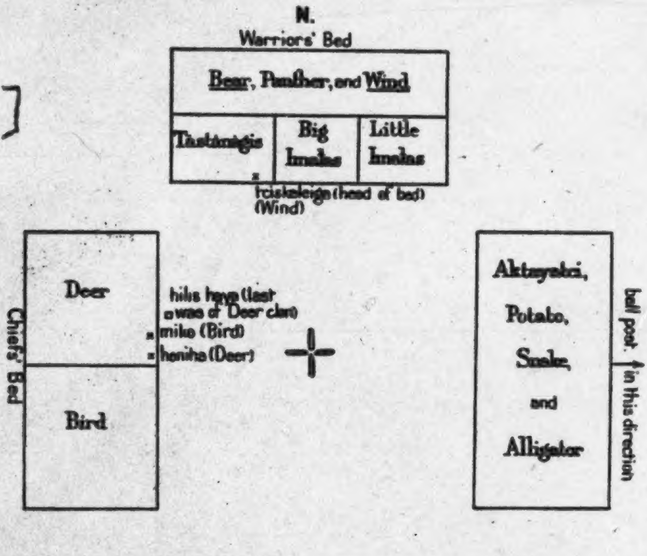
N.
Warriors' Bed
Bear, Panther, and Wind
Tastanagis
Big Imalas
Little Imalas
tciskaleigo (head of bed)
(Wind)
Chiefs' Bed
Deer
Bird
hilis haya (last one was of Deer clan)
miko (Bird)
heniha (Deer)
Aktayatci,
Potato,
Snake,
and
Alligator
ball post. in this direction
The kettles food, ect. were placed here.
Omedicine pots
O

FIG. 75.—Plan of the Hitchiti Square Ground

4. Wolf, Fox.
5. Skunk.
6. Wind, Beaver.
7. Alligator, Snake.
8. Spanish.
9. Buzzard, Earth, Squirrel.

The importance of the deer in the economic life of the Southeast will readily account for the wide distribution of the Deer clan, but it is not so easy to explain the popularity of a clan bearing such a general name as the Bird. Possibly the name had something to do with the

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on the basis of the data at hand. There seems some reason to think that the three leading White clans, Wind, Bear, and Bird, were from very early times connected with the true Muskogee, that the Deer and Panther, possibly introduced from Florida, formed the nucleus of the War element at one time, or in certain towns, and that, in other towns—or perhaps at a later period—they were displaced by the Raccoon-Potato-Fox clans. It is also possible that, in this latter association, the Potato and Fox may represent an older element later strengthened by the Raccoon at the period of immigration of the Tukabahchee and Okchai. From the habitat of the reptile and its relative prominence among the Lower Creeks we may also guess that the Alligator clan had its origin somewhere in the south, though there seems to have been no such clan in Florida.

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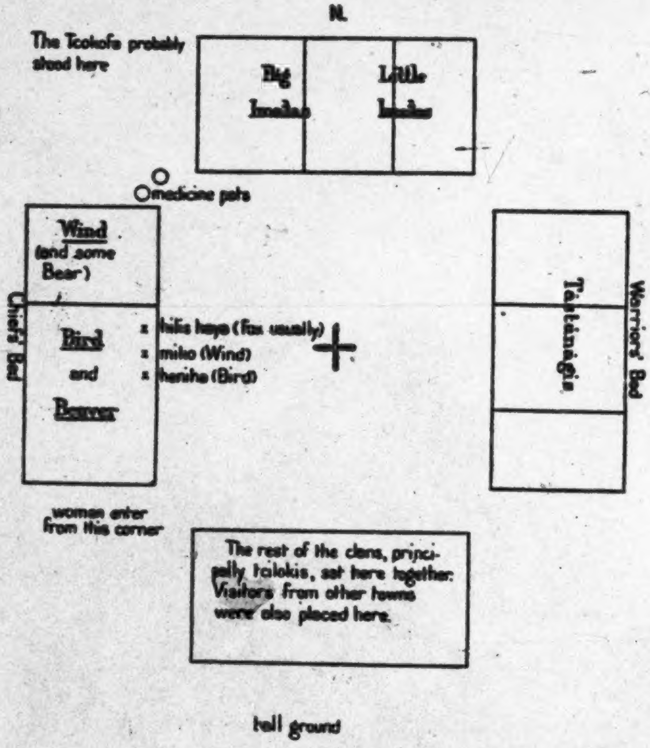
N.
The Tcokofa probably stood here
Big Imalas
Little Imalas
medicine pots
Wind (and some Bear)
Chief's Bed
Bird and Beaver
x hiliś haya (fox usually)
x miko (Wind)
x heniha (Bird)
Tastanagis
Warriors' Bed
women enter from this corner
The rest of the clans, principally tcilokis, sat here together. Visitors from other towns were also placed here.
ball ground

FIG. 77.—Plan of the Coweta Square Ground (I)

The writer has been adversely criticized for suggesting a foreign origin for one of the two moieties of certain of the north Pacific coast tribes on the basis of the names and traditions connected with it.

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Nevertheless, whether this has a historical or psychological basis or both, the same phenomenon reappears in the Southeast. Here, as we have seen, the clans opposed to the Whites, presumably those considered war clans, were known as Tcilokogálgi, "people of a different speech." Not only so, but, as we have seen, in the most ancient pure Muskogee towns, the White clans are the most prominent and are those from which the town chief is oftenest selected. This is the condition in Kasihta, Coweta, and above all among the Okfuskee, the people supposedly descended from ancient Coosa. On the other hand the Raccoon clan rises to prominence in Tukabahchee and Okchai, and the towns related to these, and the Aktayatci clan in Wiogufki, Hilibi, and Eufaula. I will not attempt to carry the argument any farther, for it may easily be overdone, but leave the facts to the consideration of future students.

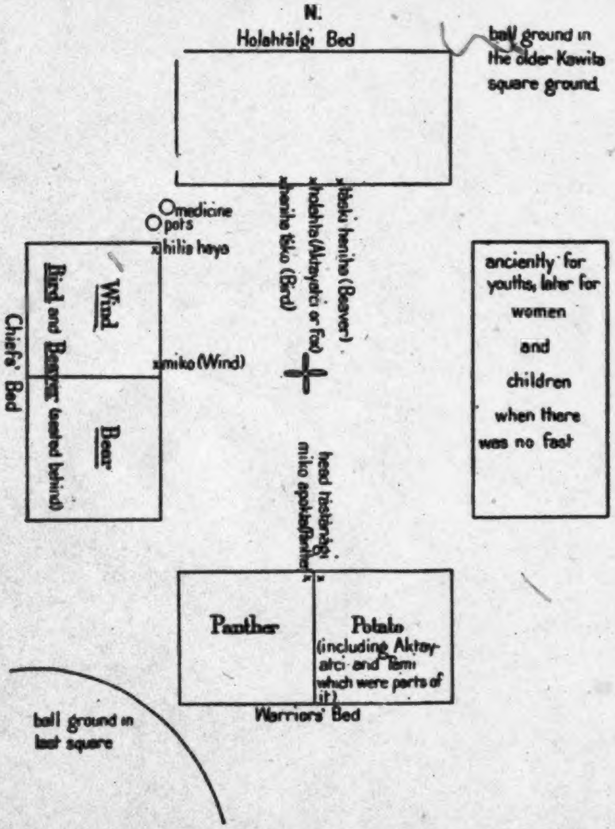
N.
Holahtálgi Bed
ball ground in the older Kawita square ground
medicine pots
x hilis haya
x henihe tîko (Bird)
x holahta (Aktayatci or fox)
x tâski heniha (Beaver)
Wind
Bird and Beaver
Bear (seated behind)
Chiefs' Bed
x miko (Wind)
anciently for youths, later for women and children when there was no fast
head tastanagi
miko apokta (Panther)
Panther
Potato (including Aktayatci and Tami which were parts of it)
Warriors' Bed
ball ground in last square

Fig. 78.—Plan of the Coweta Square Ground (II)

GOVERNMENT

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The Creek governmental unit was a body of people living for the most part in a single locality and known as a tálwa. As has been already stated, this word is now used in a rather loose sense and is generally translated "town," but its connotation rather covers the English concept "tribe." Some bodies which the Creeks called tálwa were once independent, and anciently it is probable that the term applied only to distinct tribes, and that in later years it was used for those same tribes as constituent parts of the Creek confederation, while still later it was given to new bodies which separated from these, particularly such as came to have square grounds of their own.

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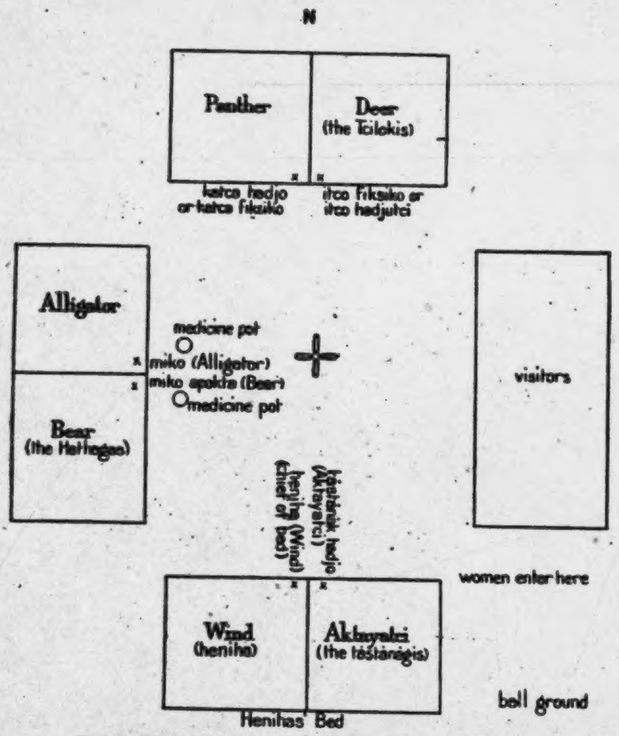
N
Panther
Deer
(the Tcilokis)
katca hadjo
or katca fiksiko
itco fiksiko or
itco hadjutci
Alligator
Bear
(the Hathagas)
medicine pot
miko (Alligator)
miko apokta (Bear)
medicine pot
visitors
tästanak hadjo
(Akhayalci)
heniha (Wind)
(chief of bed)
women enter here
Wind
(heniha)
Akhayalci
(the täständgis)
ball ground
Henihas' Bed

FIG. 79.—Plan of the Square Ground of Łikatcka or Broken Arrow

[622] After their admission to the federated body each tálwa remained virtually self-governing; its principal executive officer was known in the Muskogee language as the miko. Swan says that up to his time the Red towns had always been governed by warriors, the White towns alone being under mikos.

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towns alone being under mikos.[38] If he[1] means by warriors men bearing the title tástánági we can only say that we have not the slightest proof of it other than his statement. If he means that Red towns were governed by mikos from Red clans he is probably right, as we have already seen. We may say regarding the miko, as he is exhibited to us both by early writers and by the Creeks themselves, that he was usually associated with peace. The bed in which he sat at the square ground was almost always occupied by White clans except when the chief himself belonged to a Red clan and then the only exceptions were in the cases of the miko's clan and clans linked to it. Moreover, the Chiefs' bed is often called "the White bed." The miko is thus the head of the town as a civil body as contrasted with its military activities. I have been told that in ancient times the miko had particular charge of the big house or tcokofa and the public granary. Hawkins says of him that he "superintends all public and domestic concerns; receives all public characters; hears their

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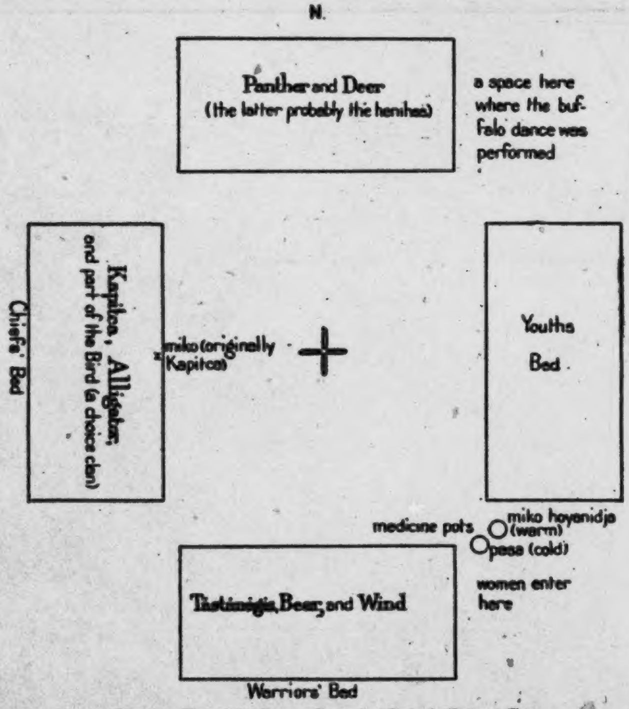
N.
Panther and Deer
(the latter probably the henihas)
a space here where the buffalo dance was performed
Kapitca, Alligator, and part of the Bird (a choice clan)
Chiefs' Bed
miko (originally Kapitca)
Youths Bed
medicine pots
miko hoyanidja (warm)
pasa (cold)
women enter here
Tastanagis, Bear, and Wind
Warriors' Bed

FIG. 89.—Plan of the Square Ground of Eufaula Hobayi (I)

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[38] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 279.

[1] [i.e., Swan.-- Analyst]

622 talks; lays them before the town, and delivers the talks of his town."[37] Bartram remarks:

[579] "He has the disposal of the corn and fruits, and gives audience to ambassadors, deputies, and strangers who come to the town or tribe, receives presents, etc. He[a] alone has the privilege of giving a public feast to the whole town, consisting of barbecued bear or fat bulls or steers, which he must kill himself; and this is called the king's feast, or royal feast. And when he intends to give this frolic, after a successful hunt, he sends messengers to prepare the village. They display the king's standard in front and at one corner of his house, and hoist a flag in the Public Square, beat drums about the town, and the inhabitants dress and paint themselves, for there is dancing and frolicking all that night." [38]

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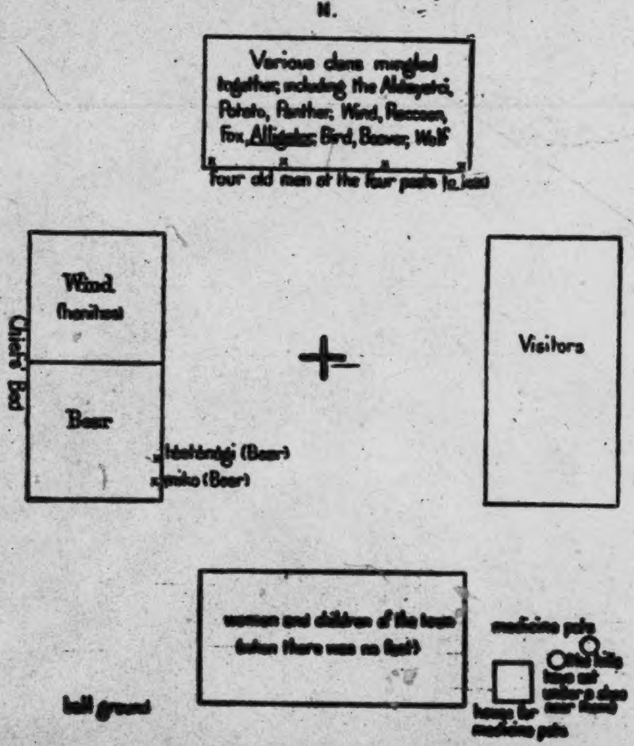
N.
Various clans mingled together, including the Aktayatci, Potato, Panther, Wind, Raccoon, Fox, Alligator, Bird, Beaver, Wolf
Four old men at the four posts to lead
Wind (henihas)
Bear
Chiefs' Bed
Visitors
hiniháhagi (Bear)
miko (Bear)
women and children of the town (when there was no feast)
medicine pole
ball ground
house for medicine pole

FIG. [illegible].—Plan of the Square Ground of Eufaula Hobayi (C)

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[37] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 69.
[38] Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 24

[a] [i.e., the miko. -- Analyst]

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Speck says regarding the Tuskegee miko:

"The function of this dignitary, as the civil head of the town, was to receive all embassies from other tribes, to direct the decisions of the town council according to his judgment, and finally to stand as the representative of the town in foreign negotiations. . . . The town chief had also to appoint the time for the annual harvest ceremony. He had personal charge of the town square and the lodges about it, and it was his duty to distribute the broken sticks to the heads of families by which they were to number the days to elapse before the ceremony. The Taskigi have been known to depose their town chief on the ground of inefficiency and to elect another from his clan instead."[28]

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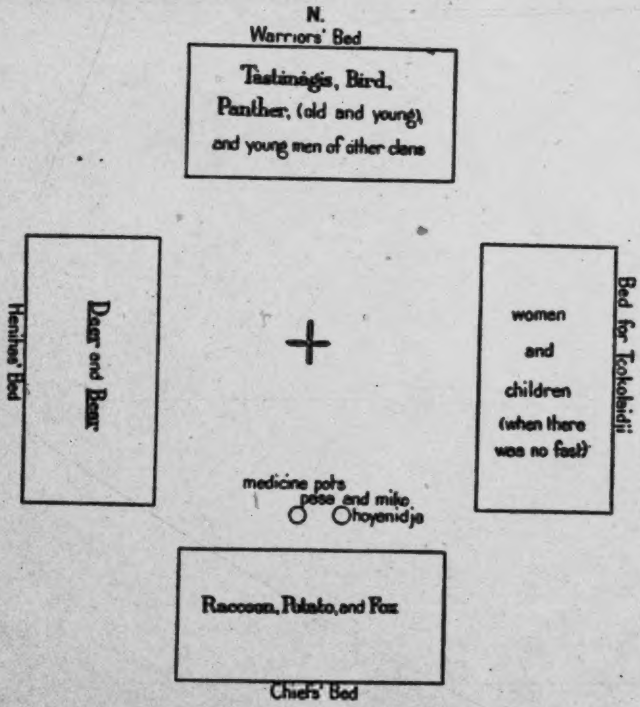
N.
Warriors' Bed
Tastinágis, Bird, Panther, (old and young), and young men of other clans
Henihas' Bed
Deer and Bear
women and children (when there was no fast)
Bed for Icokolsidji
medicine pots
pose and miko
Ohoyenidja
Raccoon, Potato, and Fox
Chiefs' Bed

FIG. 82.—Plan of the Chiaha Square Ground (I)

Theoretically the miko was little more than head of the tribal council and spokesman of his tribe, but his actual power varied with his individual ability. Although such cases may have occurred, there is no record of a miko undertaking any important action with-

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[28] Speck in Mem. Am. Anthrop. Ass'n, vol. II, p. 113.

622 out conferring with his council. The miko is called "king" by early writers and traders, and in fact the Creeks themselves applied this term to the highest officials among the whites, such as the governors of Carolina and Georgia, and to European monarchs, the King of Great Britain for instance having been known as Antapala miko łäko, "the great miko on the other side of [the ocean]." As we have seen, the miko had the seat of honor in the public square, and we learn from Spanish sources that before horses were introduced he was carried about on state occasions in a litter borne on the shoulders of his principal men.

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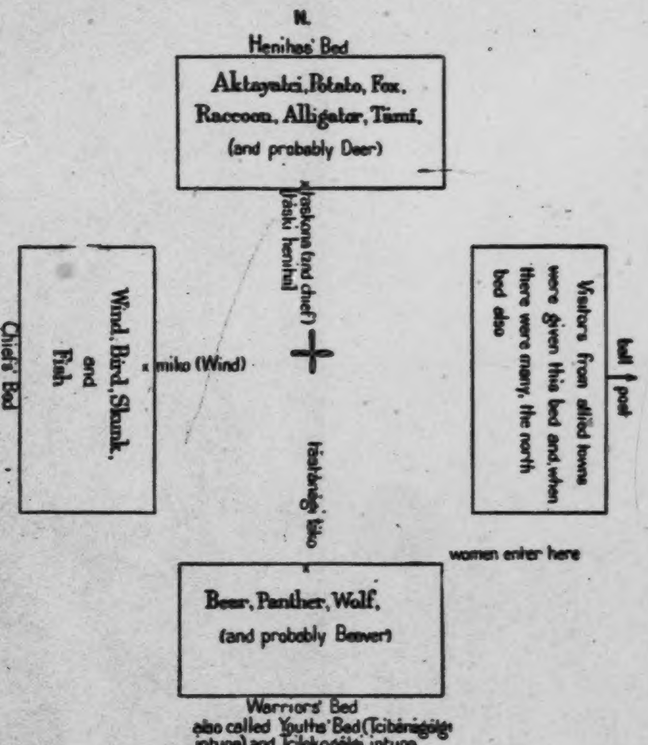
N.
Henihas' Bed
Aktayatci, Potato, Fox, Raccoon, Alligator, Tämf, (and probably Deer)
x Iaskona (2nd chief)
Iaski henihal
Wind, Bird, Skunk, and Fish
Chief's Bed
x miko (Wind)
Isabaigi tako
Visitors from allied towns were given this bed and, when there were many, the north bed also
tall post
women enter here
Bear, Panther, Wolf, (and probably Beaver)
Warriors' Bed
also called Youths' Bed (Tcibanagalgi intupa) and Tcilokogalgi intupa

FIG. 83.—Plan of the Chiaha Square Ground (II)

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622 The association between clanship and the office of miko has already been dwelt upon. It has been shown that the miko was ordinarily chosen from some particular clan, but that the clan would be changed if the tribe suffered any misfortune, or sometimes, as frequently happened in later years, if the royal clan ran out so that no suitable

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

Osochi

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person could be found in it to occupy the position. It is probable that readjustments took place even in very early times, for Adair, speaking of the Chickasaw, says: "The most numerous tribe commonly bore the highest command; yet their old warriors assure us, it was not so even within their own remembrance." As between the available candidates inside of the proper clan, selection was made in several different ways, depending on the town. According to a Coweta informant, he was selected by the members of the White clans, including, of course, only those individuals who had seats on the square ground. This agrees partially with what Ispahihtca told Doctor Gatschet, that at Kasihta the chief and "vice-chief" were selected by those who sat in the south or "white" bed. According to the description of the Kasihta square, which Ispahihtca himself gives, all of the clans in that bed were indeed White except the Potato and Deer. His remark may have been intended to cover only the White clans.

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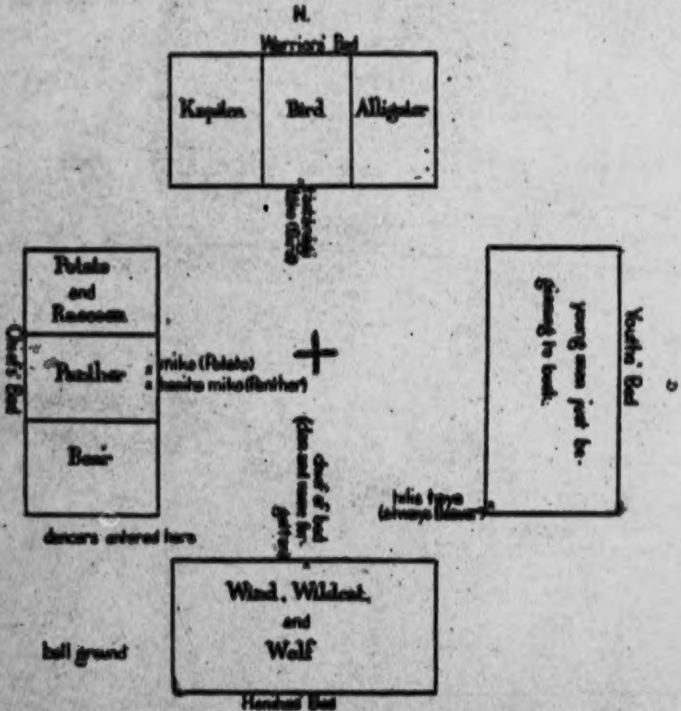
N.
Warriors' Bed
Kapitca
Bird
Alligator
Potato
and
Raccoon
Panther
Bear
Chiefs' Bed
mike (Potato)
mike (Panther)
Youths' Bed
dancers entered here
ball ground
Wind, Wildcat,
and
Wolf
Henehas' Bed

Fig. 84.—Plan of the Osochi Square Ground (?)

Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 31.

Gatschet, Ms. notes; see p. 58.

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According to Jackson Lewis, who was best acquainted with Upper Eufaula, the selection was made by the other members of the same clan, but this seems to have been unusual. According to a Hilibi Indian well versed in everything connected with the organization of a town, the miko was selected by three men, one taken from the clan of the former chief, one from the clan of his father, and a third who appears not to have belonged to any particular clan. My informant added that they uniformly selected the humblest person belonging

[344
•621]

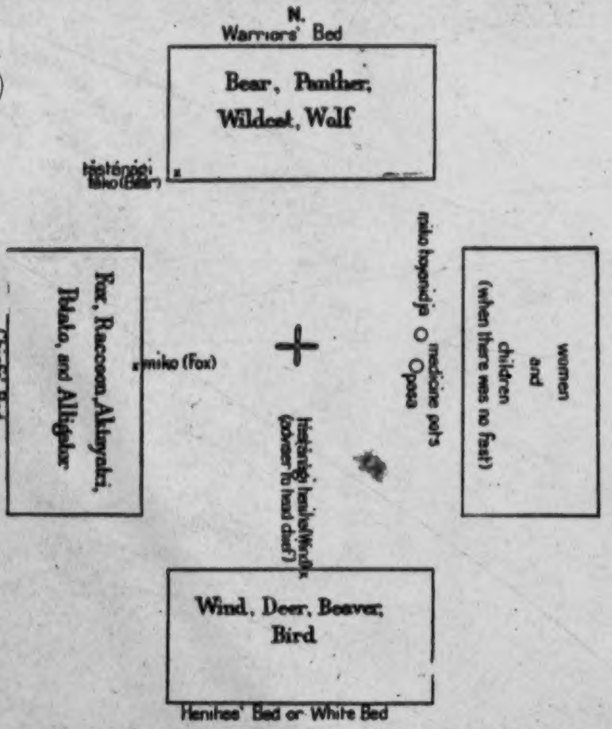
N.
Warriors' Bed
Bear, Panther, Wildcat, Wolf
histónagi lako (Bear)
Fox, Raccoon, Aktayatci, Potato, and Alligator
Chiefs' Bed
miko (Fox)
miko hoyanidja
medicine pots
Opasa
women and children (when there was no fast)
hiṭáṇági heniha (Wind) (adviser to head chief)
Wind, Deer, Beaver, Bird
Henihas' Bed or White Bed

FIG. 88.—Plan of the Osochi Square Ground (II)

to the royal clan and those who picked him out always had to labor with him to induce him to accept. Some of this reluctance was no doubt a matter of etiquette, but the public and ceremonial demands of the position were so great and so much of the well-being or misfortune of the tribe was attributed to the incumbent that he may well have shrunk from the responsibility. The miko was, however, at liberty to resign. Some of those who selected the miko might belong to Red clans but he was always inducted into office by a member of one of the White clans. He was seated upon an unsmoked buckskin and

423 The yard immediately about each house or group of houses of
course went with it; the square ground, chunky yard, and hot house
•621 were the property of the community. Gardens, as Bartram has
stated, could be cleared by anyone anywhere within the limits of the town land.[10] And Eakins expresses their attitude toward the private ownership of land by the quotation, "It is for me, for thee, and for all." He adds, however, that improvements were sometimes sold.[11] This applied to the Creeks in their western home about the middle of the nineteenth century.

361 Regarding the town lands Stiggins says:

"The inhabited parts of the nation are laid out into town districts
423 designated from some creek, ridge, or point to some other noted
point which boundary is organized into certain town corporated
precincts under the moral guardianship of their *mic cul ga.*" [12] The
[224] inhabitants of each town claimed an exclusive right to hunt in the
territory immediately about it, and according to Stiggins men of one town approached another "with seeming diffidence, though the towns may be contiguously situated." [13] At times an agreement was entered into by the members of a town to refrain from hunting
[784] in a certain territory for a definite period. A kind of taboo similar
to the device common among the Polynesians was laid upon it and it was called "ikâna tcaka," "the sacred or consecrated land." At the expiration of the time fixed upon the people entered this tract and hunted there together. Bears were the chief animals which they expected to find.

241 The management of the large town fields is instructive. Bartram says of them:

"Every town or community assigns a piece of land as near as may be to the town, for the sake of convenience. This is called the *town plantation,* where every family or citizen has his parcel or share, according to desire or convenience, or the largeness of his family. The shares are bounded by a strip of grass ground, poles set up, or any other natural or artificial boundary, so that the whole plantation is a collection of lots joining each other, comprised in one enclosure or general boundary." [14]

These fields were planted and cultivated by the town working together, all attending to the several plots in turn. They harvested at the same time, but then each family harvested from its own plot. A part of the produce of each lot was placed in a public granary under the charge of the chief.

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[10] Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 37.

[11] Eakins in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. I, p. 277.

[12] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 15.

[13] Ibid., p. 19.

[14] Bartram, op. cit., p. [illegible].

423 642 The Yuchi probably claimed an exclusive right to hunt in their ancient territories on the Savannah and Ogechee.

[727] Spoils taken in war were the property of the captor. Rights to land on the part of tribes and towns seem to have been based on 423 original occupancy, hunting, and conquest in wars with other tribes.[19] • 621 It is probable that if we could investigate the Creek confederacy as it existed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries we should find that, in spite of a freedom to hunt broadly exercised, certain towns and clans claimed prior rights over parts of the common territory outside of their contiguous town limits, so easily does the idea of ownership become associated with that of use.[20] Coweta in particular seems to have put forth extensive claims to ownership of territory in the eastern part of the Creek area, and early in the nineteenth century even professed a right to dispose of the lands of the entire nation. This was, however, a political move fathered by the State of Georgia and that half-breed element which was acting in its interest.

In general we may say of the ancient Creeks that use and ownership among them were pretty closely united while the clan system and accompanying feeling of solidarity and sense of the duty of hospitality diffused prosperity to such an extent that well being was pretty widely extended and contrasts between wealth and poverty comparatively slight.

177 648 Finally I can not refrain from quoting the following passage from Hawkins, which shows clearly the economic bases of the difficulties between the whites and the larger tribes of Indians in the Southeast:

"Notwithstanding, I rely for the present on the assurance I have received [from the Indians], I must inform you that the game has become scarce; the wants of the Indians are increasing, the men too proud to labour; the distemper has destroyed their horses; the presents heretofore given by Great Britain, in quantities sufficient to cloathe all the idlers, has ceased; those given by Spain are mere baubles. The men, bred in habits proudly indolent and insolent, accustomed to be courted, and to think that they did a favour by receiving, where naked, cloathes and comforts from the British agents, will reluctantly and with difficulty, be humbled to the level of rational life."[21]

Crime and Punishment

674 732 The word haksi was used by Chickasaw of Adair's time "to convey the idea of a person's being a criminal in any thing whatsoever," and "such unfortunate persons as are mad, deaf, dumb, or blind, are called by no other name."[22] The original meaning of this word is

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[19] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. 1, p. 282.

[20] Eakins denies, however, that families had exclusive rights to any hunting grounds. This was after the removal west.

[21] Hawkins, Letters, in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. IX, p. 240; cf. also p. 209.

[22] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 157, footnote.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

the Tukabahchee chief said to Hitchcock: "When we order out the people to make a public fence, if they don't turn out, we send and take away their gun, or horse, or something else to punish them." [72] 687

Adair tells us that neglect of the regular morning plunge into running water was deemed a heinous crime and was punished by dry scratching. [72a] 689

Mention has been made above of the device resorted to by McGillivray in order to bring recalcitrant towns to order. 681

"When the inhabitants of any particular town are notorious for horse-stealing, or have acted otherwise unadvisedly, the chief has the entire power of punishing them collectively by removing the white man from among them, and depriving them of trade. This at once humbles them most effectually; for they conceive the privilege of having a good white trader in their town, to be inestimable." [73]

After the removal of the Indians to Oklahoma I am told that the following was the usual procedure in cases of theft. A council of the people or clans in the neighborhood was held and the matter was reported to the chief of the Creek Nation who then sent light-horsemen after the culprits, although sometimes he left the apprehension of them to the people living in the neighborhood. When these had been brought to trial and convicted they were usually lashed, and the lashing was by no means a light matter, according to those who have observed it, the blows raising huge welts on the flesh and death not infrequently ensuing. Debts of licensed traders were sometimes brought before the national council for adjudication.[74] 685

Escaped murderers and adulterers, and those who had committed lesser offenses and had withdrawn from their people to avoid the ridicule and contempt of their fellow townsmen, formed a class from which, says Bartram, generally came the ruffians who committed depredations and murders on the frontiers.[75] The foundation of new towns may sometimes be traced to them, as indeed is frankly admitted by members of those towns themselves. It is said that the town of Wiwohka had such an origin, and it is also claimed for others like Hilibi on less satisfactory grounds. In later times many such people swelled the population of the Florida Seminole. 167 [626] [579] 621●

Adair is the only writer to say anything about oaths used in adjuring a witness to give true evidence, and in this connection he does not mention the Creeks, only the Cherokee, Chickasaw, and Choctaw. The Chickasaw and Choctaw oath he gives ~~as~~ *Chikloosska ke-e-u Chua,*[76] which he interprets "Do not you lie! Do you not, of a certain 695

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[72] Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

[72a] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p 120; see p. 386.

[73] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, pp. 281-282.

[74] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. I, p. 277.

[75] Bartram, Travels, p. 512.

[76] *Lushke* is a Chickasaw word meaning "to lie"; chiklushke signifies "you do not lie"; ke-e-u (or keyu) is the negative. The form used here is a strengthened one.

241 followed by a dance in the evening. While the corn was in the ground the young people, under the supervision of some of their elders, were stationed in the fields, where small shelters were often built for them, and drove away any animals and birds coming to disturb it. The boys were armed with bows and arrows, and had acquired such skill with these that Bartram says they loaded themselves with squirrels, birds, and other small game in the course of the day.[77] According to the same writer the men took turns patrolling the field at night, "to protect their provisions from the depredations of night rovers, as bears, raccoons, and deer, the two former being immoderately fond of young corn, when the grain is filled with a rich milk, as sweet and nourishing as cream; and the deer are as fond of the Potatoe vines." [77]

When the harvest was ripe all proceeded to the field in the same manner, but this time each family garnered from his own plot. The women made sacks out of cowskins, and the corn was carried home in these after it had been shucked. Then it was laid away in rows in the different granaries, the better corn farther back as that which would last longest, the worse nearer the entrance. A portion of the harvest, however, each family contributed to a large corncrib, which Bartram says was called "the king's crib."[78] This constituted a [621] reserve supply upon which to fall back when the private granaries gave out. Or it was used to succor other towns, to feed travelers, to supply to war parties, and so on. It was, in fact, a kind of public commissary.

I was told that the ground of the hilis-haya or physic maker was planted by some of the old women in return for his services. This must refer to his garden plot. At Tukabahchee and Kealedji it was close to the northwestern edge of the grounds.

HUNTING

224 Hunting and the ball play were close rivals for the second place after war in the esteem of the ancient Creeks. The former was of course a necessity and has its strictly economic side which does not here concern us. A few words may, however, be said regarding it from the social and religious points of view.

Elsewhere I have spoken of the ancient rights to hunting grounds and of the times of the year when hunting expeditions were undertaken.[78a]

The Creeks usually took medicines and washed their guns in them before they went after game. The Alabama, and probably the Creeks in general, steamed themselves thoroughly in the sweat house and then plunged into a cold stream before they set out. If several

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[77] Bartram, Travels, p. 192.

[78] Ibid., p. 510.

[78a] See pp. 336-337, 404-405.

796 173 their home in the west and one town followed them. This may indicate nothing more than the high regard in which the Shawnee were held. Certain innovations in the busk procedure may have been due to them, but to prove it we must wait for a study of Shawnee ceremonials.

796 642 •621 619 182 The story of Sanger Beaver probably represents very well the psychological attitude of the Indians toward their great ceremonial and epitomizes their opinion of its place in their lives even though it may not have the slightest basis in fact. The busk with its fire, its medicines, and its ceremonial was a great unifying element between the several members of the Creek confederacy, all the tribes which united with it either adopting such a ceremonial or altering their own to agree with it. And further than that it was a special unifying institution within each town, bringing all together for a definite purpose in which the good of each and the good of all were bound up. All transgressions, except some forms of murder, were then forgiven, all disturbances adjusted, and thus the unity and peace of the state reestablished. As with so many reputed founders of civilized states in the Old World, and as in the case of Hiawatha among the Iroquois, a primeval age of barbarism and warfare is put an end to by a lawgiver acting as the medium of supernatural agents, or possessing great supernatural power. The object of his labors is law, order, and peace. Thus the busk is supposed to be a great peace ceremonial, "the white day," the square ground is considered "the yard of peace," white feathers are used there, and its white smoke is intended to reach the sky. The White clans and Tcilokis were to play peaceably in the ball game and the side which won was to take both bunches of feathers. When a council of any kind was held, pipes were lighted and smoked, and the smoke ascending from them was called "the white smoke." As Swan tells us, the native name of the sacred medicine called "black drink" by the whites is really "the white drink." It is now claimed that the four foundation sticks of the fire depict the junction lines of "the white treaty" with the United States Government, and an old Tukabahchee Creek said that the White people promised to be on the north end of the north back stick of the busk fire. This interpretation, however, has evidently superseded an earlier one in which the Creek confederacy as represented by its four leading towns, Coweta, Kasihta, Tukabahchee, and Abihka, was symbolized by the fire sticks. The fact that the beds of the miko and henihas are often spoken of as white and were usually occupied by White clans also shows the dominance of the idea of peace in the square ground and particularly the busk ceremonial held there. It is to be added that at the time of this ceremonial everyone must speak in a low, gentle tone of voice, if children begin to cry, they must be quieted at once without disturbance, and a general air of harmony must be preserved.

at once without disturbance, and a general air of harmony must 000
be preserved.

If it may be relied upon as a common belief the following informa- 796
tion obtained by Doctor Speck from Laslie Cloud, medicine maker
of the Tuskegee, is very valuable: 614

"Upon the same occasion (the busk) the clan totems and other animal spirits are worshiped and propitiated by numerous dances each with its own song and gestures. These address prayer and express gratitude to the propitious ones and correspondingly placation to those that are believed to be nocuous. To take an example, the *stikinī*, 'little screech owl,'[35b] is an unfavorable spirit of the dead, causing death or announcing death to the one who hears it. So the *Stikinobànga*, 'Little-screech-owl dance,' is functionally a prayer to the screech owl for immunity from its visits. These dances are performed publicly on the square ground and all spectators may take part freely. In other cases dances are directed, as acts of worship by emulation, to the spirits of animals whose flesh is food. The emulation is believed to affect the spirits of the dead animals in their reincarnation upon the earth. So with the fish dance, the buffalo dance, and others."[36]

Unfortunately I have been entirely unable to substantiate this even at the mouths of very intelligent old people and consequently do not know whether it was the personal understanding of Laslie Cloud or represented a former widely extended belief. But since the busk was a very sacred ceremonial a symbolic meaning was likely to be extended over every feature connected with it.

But we must not lose sight of the fact that the "peace" of the 796
busk was a peace with limitations. It included the town busking, 442
it included in a lesser degree the other Creek towns of the same fire, 621
and in a lesser degree still the towns of the other fire, the contests 619
with which were merely through ball games, but here it stopped and, just as peace and ball games were institutional up to that point, so was war institutional beyond that point. War was by no means excluded from consideration in the square ground and the busk, or even temporarily suppressed. The warriors had their distinctive beds where they were ranged in grades, advancement in the seatings, and along with it new names, was granted for achievements in almost all cases obtained in war, the warriors had their definite part in the ceremonies, and the atâsâ, the war symbol, was given to the youth who was thus renamed, carried by the women who led the women's dance, and indicated by short posts or by markings upon the tall posts in the front of the beds of the chief himself.[37] Atâsâ posts

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[35b] This is really the horned owl.

[36] Speck in Mem. Am. Anth. Asso., vol. II, pt. 2, pp. 134-135.

[37] It is now denied that there is any ceremonial meaning to the atâsâ sticks carried by the women in the women's dance or to the feathers which the young men like to stick in their hats, but both are undoubtedly descended from significant usages.

796 are shown in Figure 5 of the preceding paper, from an early French
sketch.[38] As in the reform movement of Hiawatha among the
642 Iroquois and similar reforms in other parts of the world, that percep-
621 tion of the injurious effects of war with which the confederacy started
619 was not carried on progressively toward its legitimate conclusion,
the absolute extinction of warfare, but halted part way. In the relative benefits which the new union conferred by introducing local peace were lost to sight the very much greater benefits which would have been conferred by carrying out the project to its only logical end. The local well being and warlike effectiveness of a certain group of tribes was very much advanced as compared with that of many of their neighbors, and with this they remained content.

796 The busk was in reality the fourth of a series of ceremonials, the first three of which are called "stomp dances" and included only a minimum of ceremony, being in a way preparatory to the great busk proper. It is likely that in ancient times these were of more importance and perhaps deserved the name of busk also. The time of these ceremonies was formerly fixed by the period of the new moon and therefore varied somewhat. The first stomp dance was usually in April, but sometimes probably in May, while the busk proper was usually in July but with some towns as late as August. In ancient times the date of the busk was supposed to be governed by the first ripening of the large or flour corn,[39] and this will account for the fact that among the Florida Seminole it is said to occur as early as June.[40]

The Koasati observed one of the three first stomp dances with more than ordinary care. It was the one held in May and was when the mulberries were ripe. It will be remembered that Adair says of the Koasati that "they annually sanctify the mulberries by a public oblation,"[41] and I was told as much by David Cummings, probably the only Creek living in 1912 who could remember about the old busk ground of the main body of Koasati, known as Koasati No. 1. He said that they busked in May when the mulberries were ripe and again when the roasting ears were ripe. Stiggins states that the Koasati celebrated the coming of the new crop of beans in addition to the coming of the new corn, and this was probably identical with the mulberry feast.[41a]

The following feast mentioned by Adair was perhaps at the time of one of these stomp dances—at least it was at the same time of the year—although there are features reminding one of the "old peoples' dance" which the Creeks held in October. Adair says of this feast:

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[38] Journ. Société des Amér. de Paris, 1922.

[39] Adair says it was anciently fixed by "the beginning of the first new moon in which their corn became full eared," but later by the time of harvest. (Hist. Am. Inds., p. 99.)

[40] See MacCauley, Fifth Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethn.

[41] Adair. Hist. Am. Inds., p. 267.

[41a] See p. [illegible]

619 621 In former times a certain aloofness was maintained by the towns of one moiety toward those of the other. They did not encourage intermarriage and did not attend each other's annual ceremonies. This latter inhibition is now breaking down and it is claimed that men of all towns attend the busk of Otciapofa. Otciapofa, however, has long occupied an exceptional position. A chief belonging to the Bird clan of this town always delivered the principal speech when a new chief of the Confederation was installed. This town was also the residence of the Creek dictator Alexander McGillivray, and it was here that Crazy Snake, leader of the Creek conservatives, called his important councils. Evidently the functions of the White and Red sides in maintaining peace or bringing on hostilities were formerly of great importance and some White towns, certainly Apalachicola and Coosa, were places of refuge for murderers. The "regular" ball games, as distinguished from practice games, always took place between towns of different sides and the supporters of each town marched to the encounter in much the same spirit as if they were going to war.

101 The principal White towns were: Kasihta, Ȧpalachicola, Hitchiti, Okmulgee, Sawokli, Yuchi, Abihka, Coosa, Otciapofa, Tulsa, Okfuskee, Okchai (including Łȧłogȧlga and Ȧsilanabi), Pakana, Koasati, Tuskegee, and Wiogufki.

The principal Red towns were: Coweta (including Łikatcka), Eufaula, Chiaha, Osochi, Tukabahchee, Łiwahali, Łapłȧko, Atasi, Kealedji, and Hilibi. Alabama changed from White to Red in the manner described.

614 615 The people of each town were subdivided into clans which were usually named after animals and were invariably perpetuated in the female line. The only clan of importance not named for an animal was the Wind clan and with this the Skunk was closely associated, the Skunk clan having always been linked with it. I obtained the names of over 50 clans but some of these were known to only one or two informants, and a number of others were small and bound into phratral associations with clans of greater prominence. Some clans were considered as equivalents throughout the entire nation. The Skunk, Fish, Rabbit, Otter, and Turtle seem always to have been united in one phratry with the Wind; the Wolf and Salt with the Bear; the Pahosa with the Deer; the Wildcat with the Panther; and the Turkey and Tȧmi with the Alligator. In the same way the Snake, Kapitca, and Woksi were almost invariably counted in with the Aktayatci; the Mole, Toad. and Tcikote always went together and were generally allied with the Deer and Pahosa; and the

614 The question naturally arises whether some of these clans may not have been brought in with formerly independent tribes. All we can say is that certain clans are more prominent in some of these tribes than among the true Muskogee but whether they were brought in by them we do not know. Thus, as just mentioned, the Aktayatci was particularly prominent among the Hitchiti, as were the Snake, Kapitca and Woksi, and in a more pronounced manner the Toad, Mole, and Tcikote. The Daddy-long-legs and Salt were similarly associated with the Alabama, the former, indeed, being hardly known outside of that tribe.

616 Besides this division into phratral groups all of the clans were ranged in two moieties called respectively, Hathagálgi, "White People," and Tcilokogálgi, "People of a different speech." The Wind and Bear with their phratral associates were almost invariably White, and the Raccoon and Aktayatci and their allies almost invariably Tciloki. The Bird is usually White but among the Alabama and Koasati it is Tciloki. The Beaver is also White usually, but when it is associated with the Alligator and when the Alligator is not a White clan, the Beaver often becomes Tciloki. The Alligator is most often Tciloki but in a number of towns it is White. The Deer is usually Tciloki but it is White in a few towns. Today the Panther is almost always Tciloki but some of the oldest myths and some of my best informants assert that it was anciently White.

When I first went among the Creeks, I was told that in one or two towns the clan moieties were exogamous, but the greater number of my informants held the contrary opinion. I was much surprised, therefore, during my last visit to have most of my informants maintain that they were exogamous. This much is certain, that there were striking exceptions to this law in comparatively early times, for instance, in the case of the famous Creek speaker Hobohił Yáhola. Probably it will never be possible to say whether this phratral exogamy was breaking down or growing in times known to us. In recent years the principal function performed by these moieties has been to determine the line-up of the players in practice games within the town. The important bearing the mere character of a name may have in social evolution is shown by the fact that, on account of the name, persons of European blood were usually reckoned as "friends" of the Hathagas, and in consequence the latter acquired a reputation as "progressives," while the Tcilokis were considered, and acted like, "conservatives."

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624 Besides the clans, phratries, and moieties there were certain groups in each town which had official functions. Some of these were

determined by the individual ability—usually military—of those who 621
belonged to them. 624 Thus a man might start his public career as a common warrior or tàsikaia, a word now often translated "citizen," be promoted to the position of an imała làbotski, or "Little Imała," then to that of an imała łàko, or "Big Imała," and finally become a tàstanàgi, or "war leader." If sufficiently prominent he might be made a tàstànàgi łàko or hołibonaia, "war speaker," though of these there was never more than one in a town at any one time. There were "beds" or seats in the square grounds for each of these classes, but not all were promoted into them. Men who belonged to the clan 621
of the chief (miko) would be given seats in his section and form [622]
the mikàlgi, "chiefs," who acted as a kind of special executive 614
council. 624 If they belonged to a certain clan known as henīhàlgi, they would be given seats in another place. The functions of the henīhàlgi are somewhat uncertain but they were concerned largely with the maintenance of peace and charged themselves with the internal prosperity of the tribe. The henīhàlgi were almost always formed of the Wind clan, and if, for any reason, the Wind clan could not be used, the Bird or Beaver, or at least some clan considered White, would take their place. There was also a class of men called istatcagagi, the old, experienced men from all tribes, retired from active service but keepers of the tribal lore. It seems fairly evident that a correlation existed anciently between White towns, White clans, and the henīhàlgi, and that the miko of a White town was generally chosen from a White clan. It is even possible that the miko of a Red town was formerly chosen from a White clan. Certainly there is a marked tendency to choose chiefs from the Bear clan, even in Red towns, though many of them are also from the Raccoon and the Aktayatci.

A word must now be said regarding the ceremonial grounds. 344
Originally every Creek town had such a ground which at a still earlier period was probably the ceremonial ground of a small tribe. As a tribe increased in numbers, however, the ground often became too small to accommodate all of its members comfortably and so it split into two or more. Undoubtedly, before the organization of the Creek Confederation, there was great diversity among these grounds and a certain element of diversity has persisted until the present day, but on the other hand considerable standardization has undoubtedly taken place. Creek legend asserts that the first ceremonial ground was given to the Coweta, the Kasihta, or the Tukabahchee by the Breath Controller or by other supernatural beings, and copied by the remaining towns from them. While this represents a modern

3:Swanton E-5 (1911-12, 1929)1931 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

ceremonial complications of any sort. It seems to have been usual 796 to hold three of these dances in the spring and early summer, a month apart, the series paving the way for, and leading up to, the second ceremonial, the "busk," which was the great annual ritual. This last is usually considered as lasting four days, though in that four are included the days of assembling and departure. The principal event on the second day is the women's dance. On the third day the men fast, take medicine four times, and near its close march down to the creek and bathe. After they return, they are dismissed to their camps and break their fast. Later they are summoned to the square again where they dance four times, and then the dance becomes "common," visitors from friendly towns being admitted to it. A fire is kept up all night in the center of the square and dancing continues about it until it is nearly day. In former times many, perhaps all, of the towns extended their busks over eight days, but from what can be learned of these longer ceremonials they seem to have been in the main a simple doubling of the shorter ceremony, except for a few features like the kindling of the new fire which took place but once annually.

Let us now turn to the new material regarding the square grounds and the ceremonies conducted there. Under each heading I give the notes obtained from native informants belonging to the square or town in question.

ABIHKA

Figure 1 gives the general arrangement of the square of Abihka, 344
or Talladega, and Plate 1, Figure 1, gives a view of the ground itself 621
near Henryetta, Okla., as it appeared in 1912. The exposure was 796
made from the southwest.

The medicines were taken first by those in the Bears' bed, then in succession by those in the beds of the Raccoon on the west side, the Raccoon on the east side, the Deer, and those in the south bed. The asimbonaia in the northern section of the east cabin acted more particularly as the chief's messenger; the one in the western compartment of the south cabin called first the women and then the children to come to take their medicine from the vessel at the north end of the east cabin. The ta'palas were changed every four years. The women gathered preparatory to their dance at a tree on the edge of the tádjo (the ridge of sweepings that makes the edge of the ceremonial ground) and entered the section about the fire at its northwestern corner. Five pots of medicine were prepared at the north end of the west cabin (fig. 1, 11). Afterward one pot

3:Swanton E-5 (1911-12, 1929)1931 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

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was placed a little farther north and west for the boys (12) and another was carried around to the north end of the east cabin fo the women and children (13). The ingredients of this medicine

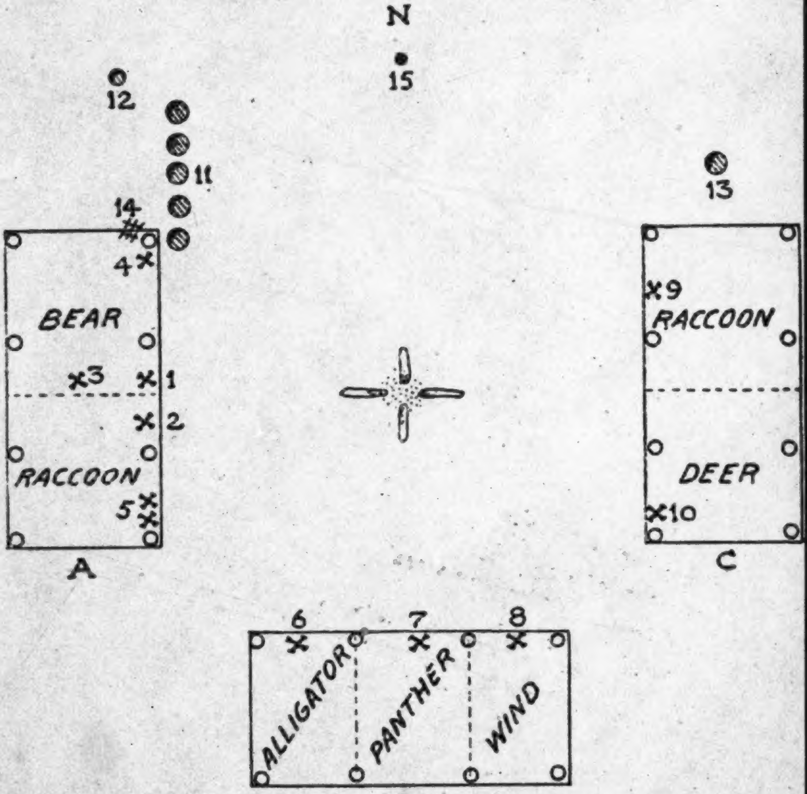

FIG. 1.—General arrangement of the square of Abihka.

A. Chiefs' Bed (mikálgi or mikági intupa); 1, miko (Bear); 2, henīha (Raccoon); 3, hilis haya (Raccoon); 4, hilis tcálaba; 5, yáhaikas (any clan).
B. Henihas' Bed (henihálgi intupa): 6, asimbonaia (Alligator); 7, ta'pala (Panther); 8, ta'pala (Wind).
C. Warriors' Bed (tástánágálgi intupa): 9, asimbonaia (Raccoon); 10, tutka dīdja (Deer).

11, medicine pots (1st position); 12, medicine pot for boys (2d position); 13, medicine pot for women (2d position); 14, place where medicines were piled immediately after they were brought in; 15, ball post (pokábi).
It is to be noted that, in all of these diagrams, the ball post was actually much farther from the center of the square than is indicated.

were miko hoyanīdja ("réd root"), pasa ("buttonsnake-root"), wīlana ("wormseed"), and hobága ("maypop"); tcato hátki ("white stones") were added. After the ceremony was about over and the fasters were ready to go down to bathe in the creek, what was left

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of the medicine was poured on the fire. It is said that one gallon of 344
spring water was brought for all five pots. This must mean a gallon 621
for each. Following are the busk names of the present officers: 796

miko	Tcûktcât Henīha
henīha	Itchas Hadjo
hilis tcâlaba	Konip Yâhola
ta'pala	Katca Tâstânâgi
"	Kona Yâhola
tutka dīdja	Tâstânâkutci
asimbonaia	Wotko Fiksiko
"	Kapitca Hadjo

The Hathagâlgi of this town are Wind and Bear; the Tcilokogâlgi are Panther, Raccoon, Deer, Beaver, Alligator, and Bird.

My information regarding this ground was obtained mainly from Jim Star who described the Talladega ground to me in 1912, the plan of which is in the Forty-second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, page 205. The different aspect of the east cabin is mainly due to the fact that the earlier account gives a more ancient arrangement, when the warriors were graded into tâstânâgis, and big and little imałas. The position assigned to the hilis haya in the earlier plan is probably erroneous. The other differences are due mainly to the more extensive information obtained on ~~my~~ last trip. My new information disagrees with the older, however, in assigning the Bird, Beaver, and Alligator clans to the Tciloki side as was said to be the case at Abihka-in-the-West instead of to the White side as was given me for Talladega and the old Abihka town near Eufaula. It is probable that the new information is correct since the last mentioned square was given up when the man from whom I obtained data regarding it was a boy. However, it must be remembered that these allocations are not invariable and probably changed at times even within the same town.

OTCIAPOFA, OR HICKORY GROUND

Figure 2 shows the square ground of Otciapofa, popularly known as Hickory Ground.

The hilis tcâlaba was changed every four years and was not taken invariably from the same clan.

At the southernmost front post of the east cabin were fastened two poles with black feathers tied to the ends and at every other front post were three similar poles but with white feathers. These were carried by the men in the "feather dance."

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621
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In the women's dance there is but one leader who carries a notched stick called atâsa, the old name of the war club, from the middle of which depends an eagle feather.

Besides the invariable miko hoyanīdja or "red root," the busk medicine contained tutka hiliswa ("fire medicine"), wīlana ("wormseed"), tutka-tcok-hissi (a place on the ground where wood has been burned and moss has sprung up), and hobâga ("maypop").

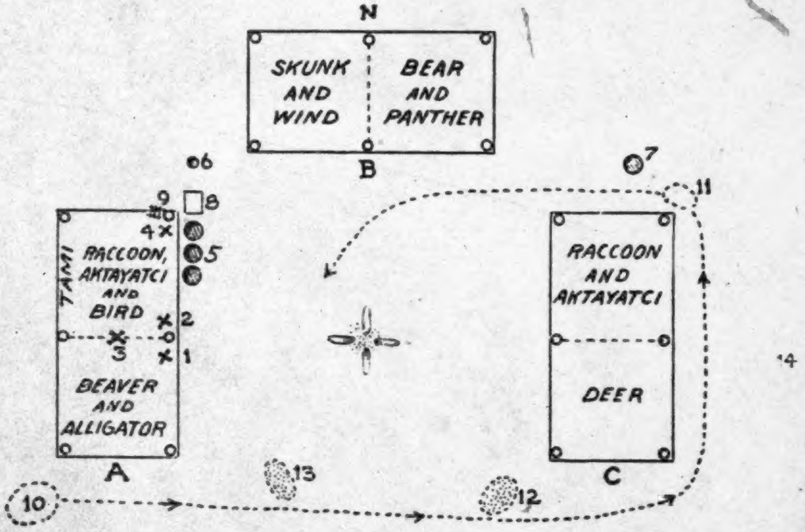

FIG. 2.—The square ground of Otciapofa, or Hickory Ground.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Beaver); 2, miko apokta (Beaver); 3, hilis haya (any clan; at present Wind); 4, hilis tcâlaba (changed every 4 years; now Beaver).
B. Henihas' Bed.
C. Warriors' Bed.

5. medicine pots (1st position); 6, medicine pot for boys (2d position); 7, medicine pot for woman (2d position); 8, log on which medicines were laid and macerated with a small wooden pounder; 9, place where medicines were kept; 10, point where women gathered preparatory to their dance; 11, point where women made a final stop before entering to dance; 12, where the ashes from the central fire were deposited every year; 13, sweepings from the square ground (tâdjo); 14, ball post.

As usual, the doctor perfected this medicine by blowing into it through a hollow reed. Two men took medicine at the same time, using gourd dippers. After all were through a dipperful was poured on the fire.

For a drum they use a stout jar and there are two coconut-shell rattles.

There is a line of tâdjo (sweepings) around the four cabins but it does not include the ball post. In playing the single pole game a

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hit on the skull at the top counts five and a hit on the pole above a certain mark counts two when it is struck twice in succession.

The Hathagas consisted of the Beaver, Alligator, Bird, Bear, Skunk, Wind, and Rabbit; the Tcilokis of the Raccoon, Deer, Panther, and Aktayatci. The Rabbit, Wind, and Skunk formed one phratry.

The information regarding this ground which I obtained in 1912 was particularly incomplete. It is therefore gratifying to find that there are no serious discrepancies between the plan based on that (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., p. 211) and the present information. Some clans are given in one and omitted from the other, but where the same ones appear in both they have practically the same positions except for the Bear, which, according to the earlier description, sat in the west cabin and according to the later at the east end of the north cabin; and the Tàmi, which the former places at the west end of the north cabin and the latter at the back of the northern section of the west cabin. The location of the miko, miko apokta or henīha, and hilis haya is probably more exact in the later plan which also adds many more details. The informants differed somewhat regarding the Hathagas and Tcilokis, the earlier authority placing the Beaver among the Tciloki and the Panther among the Whites, allocations exactly reversed by my later informant.

LITTLE TULSA

Next we come to one of the two divisions into which the Tulsa have recently split, this being known as Little Tulsa (fig. 3). Plate 1, Figure 2, shows the old Tulsa ground in 1911 from the southeast, before the fission had occurred.

It is said that all of the offices are filled from particular clans. The following is a list of the present officers; exclusive of the miko and his henīha:

tàstànàgi łako	Ispani Tàstànàgi
tàstànàgi	Kapitca Tàstànàgi
"	Lata Miko (controls the two above)
ahaga haiyàlgi ("law makers") (messengers for the tàstànàgis)	Kapitca Tàstànàgi (Aktayatci), and Tàmi Tàstànàgi (Tàmi)
simiabaia	Kàntcati Miko (busk name) or Nokos Hadjo (common name)
hilis haya	Miko Tcàpko (Beaver)
hilis tcàlaba	Tàmi Yàhola (Tàmi)
tutka oktidjdja	Tàmàłàkutci (Tàmi)

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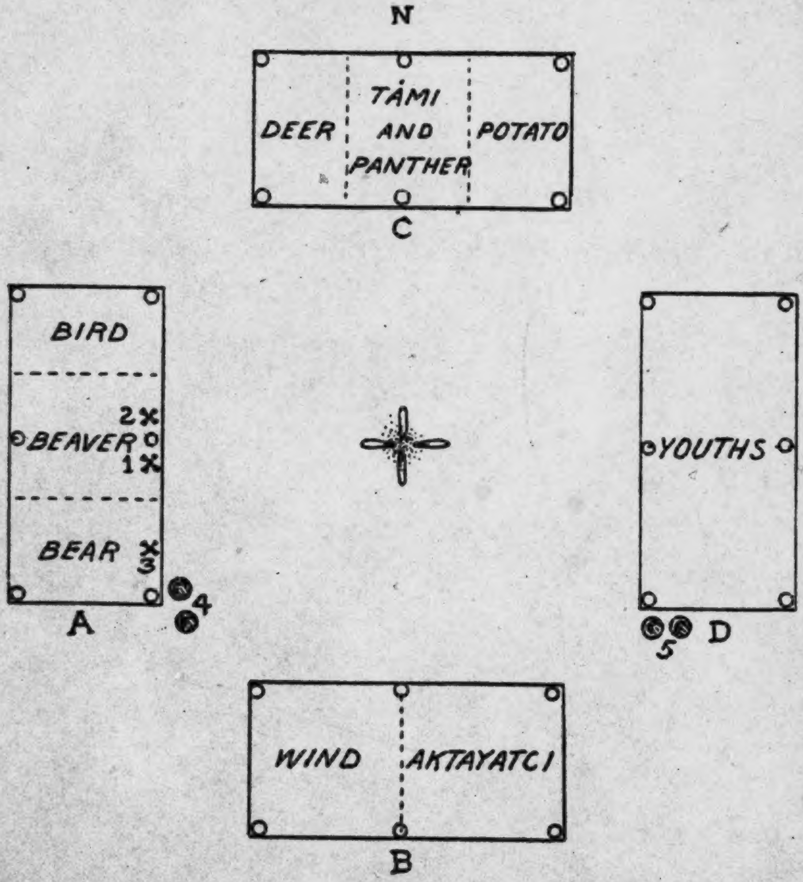
N
TĀMI AND PANTHER
DEER
POTATO
C
BIRD
2 ×
BEAVER
1 ×
BEAR
× 3
4
A
YOUTHS
5
D
WIND
AKTAYATCI
B

FIG. 3.—Little Tulsa square ground.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko; 2, henĩha; 3, simiabaia.
B. Henihas' Bed.
C. Warriors' Bed.
D. Youths' Bed.

4. old location of medicine pots; 5. modern location of medicine pots.

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taʻpala	Nokos Fiksiko (Bear)
"	Tâmi Hâtkutci (Tâmi)
yâhaikas	Kapitca Fiksiko (Aktayatci), and Pin Hadjo (Tâmi)
Captain of the Light Horsemen	Yâhola Tcâpko (Tâmi)
Light Horsemen	Oktcân Hadjo (Bear) Fûs Yâholutc (Beaver) Kapitcutci (Aktayatci)

The taʻpalas functioned at the women's dance, the yâhaikas sang at the women's dance and at the feather dance.

My original Tulsa data, published in the Forty-second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology (p. 213), was obtained from an old man and was intended to reflect the most ancient arrangement he could remember. Since that time the Tulsa Indians who used to meet at the Little River ground have divided and maintain two distinct squares. The general agreement between the older and the later plan is therefore surprisingly close. The principal difference seems to be in the position given the Aktayatci who appear in the north bed in the earlier plan and in the south bed in the later one. The earlier plan may also be in error in the position given the medicine pots but this was subject to change from town to town and during the ceremony itself. The Eagle clan, which appears on the older plan, died out so long ago that it can barely be remembered by any living Creeks.

NUYAKA

The plan of this ground is given in Figure 4 and a view of it as it appeared some years ago in Plate 2, Figure 1.

The positions of hilis haya, hilis tcâlaba, and tutka dĭdja were held for four years when the man and clan were changed so as to teach others the duties of these offices. The tâstânâgis and imalas had become confined to one or two clans. The hoktâgi immiko and his henĭha controlled the women's dance and were called istatcagas. The term holaʻta was applied to a certain class at the square ground in some towns, sometimes to the Tcilokis, but its application here is not explained. The first taʻpala acted under the women's chief. He was taken from the Bear clan, or, failing that, from the following in order of preference: Wind, Raccoon, Tâmi.

In taking the medicines they drank of the miko hoyanĭdja first and pasa second.

A rock was placed under the miko's seat "to make the seat heavy." Anciently there was a tcokofa northeast of the square. Nowadays the ground is hoed off only once a year.

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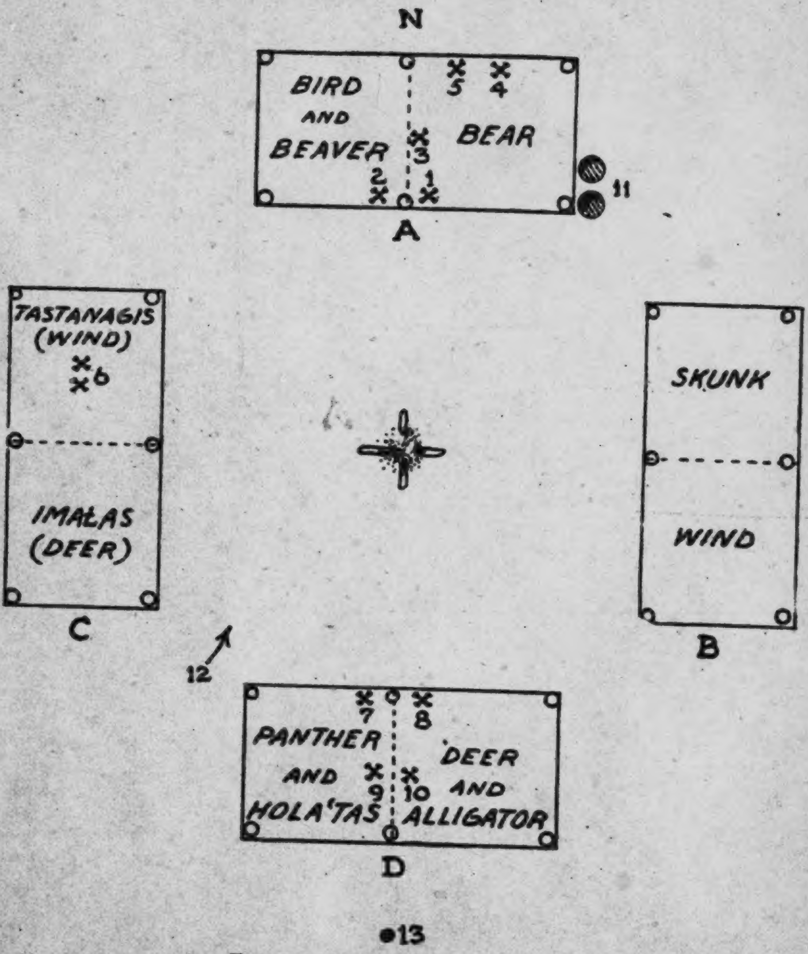
N
BIRD AND BEAVER
BEAR
5
4
3
2
1
11
A
TASTANAGIS (WIND)
6
IMAŁAS (DEER)
C
SKUNK
WIND
B
12
7
8
PANTHER AND HOLA'TAS
DEER AND ALLIGATOR
9
10
D
●13

FIG. 4.—Nuyaka square ground.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Bear); 2, henīha (usually Wind; Deer in 1929); 3, hilis haya (changed every 4 years; Turkey in 1929); 4, hilis tcálaba (Alligator); 5, tutka dīdja (Raccoon).

B. Henihas' Bed.

C. Warriors' Bed; 6, two tástánágis (or law makers).

D. Tcilokis' Bed (Tcilokogálgi intupa), or Tásikaias' Bed (Tásikaiálgi intupa): 7, hoktági immiko (Aktayatci); 8, henīha for hoktági immiko (Alligator); 9, 1st ta'pala (Bear preferentially); 10, 2d ta'pala (Alligator).

11, medicine pots; 12, point at which women enter; 13, ball post.

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In this town the Turkey and Alligator clans belong in one phratry and so do the Wind and Skunk.

The present officers are as follows:

miko	Nokos Miko
henīha	Miko Tcàpko
hilis haya	Tàstànàkotci
tutka oktidīdja	Hotàlgi Hadjudji
hilis tcàlaba	Lōdja Yàhola
hoktàgi immiko	Wotko Yàhola

When the present Nuyaka data are compared with that which I obtained in 1912 for Nuyaka and the related towns, Okfuskee, Abihkutci, Talmutcàsi, and Tcatoksofa, the agreement is found to be close except in the cases of the two last where the square grounds had long been given up and were described by individuals from memories of their early years. The main correction is in locating the miko, henīha, and hilis haya and the difference here is not great.

PAKAN TALLAHASSEE

Figure 5 gives the plan and Plate 2, Figure 2, and Plate 3, Figure 1, views of the ground, one showing the three cabins, or arbors, and the other the chunk yard and ball post.

The tutka oktidīdja, hilis tcàlaba, hilis haya, and oīdjawas, were appointed every four years from any clan. The taʻpalas and hilis hoboia were appointed every four years from the same clan. The miko and asimbonaias held their positions for life.

Here we seem to meet some strange innovations. The Bears' section of the south cabin receives one name connected with war, tàsikaiàlgi intupa, and the section of the Birds, Beavers, and Alligators another, tàstànàgàlgi intupa, while, at the same time, they are White or Hathaga clans and their cabin is called hathagàlgi intupa. Yet one section of the west cabin is called tàstànàgàlgi intupa also, and the whole cabin receives the unusual name of làksàfàskàlgi intupa, "bed of the Blacks," the Blacks being evidently the clans elsewhere called tcilōkogàlgi.

The tcokofa was to the northwest and this was the last town to put up such a structure.

The Birds' section was called istatcagàgi intupa. The Deer and Pahosàlgi were formerly called the imałàgàlgi.

Three poles with white feathers attached were fastened to each of the front posts for use in the feather dance.

Back of the tàstànàgis' section of the west cabin was a little structure in which to inclose the medicine pots when they were not in use.

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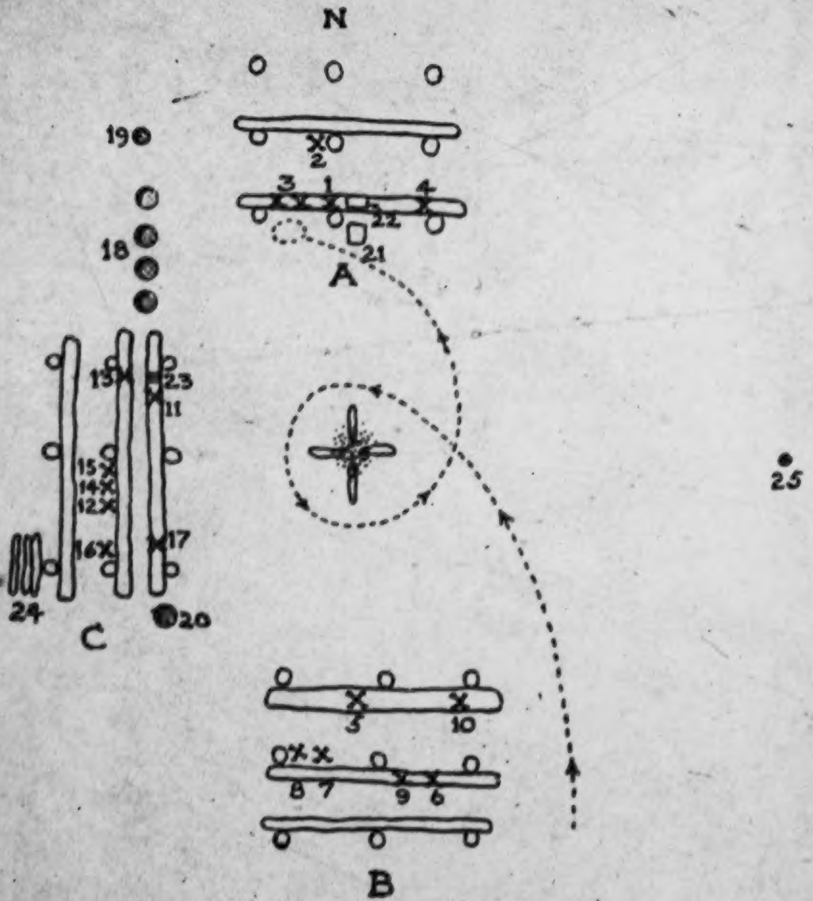

Fig. 5.—Square ground of Pakan Tallahassee.

A. Chiefs' Bed (mikálgi intupa): 1, miko (Bear); 2, hilis haya (Panther in 1929); 3, yáhaikas (singers for women); 4, dog whipper.

B. Whites' Bed (hathagálgi intupa): 5, asimbonaia (Bird); 6, ta'pala (Bear); 7, hilis hoboia (Bird); 8, oïdjawa (Bird); 9, oïdjawa (Bear); 10, dog whipper.

C. Blacks' Bed (laksáfáskálgi intupa): 11, asimbonaia (Deer); 12, ta'pala (Bird; father Raccoon); 13, hilis tcálaba (Deer in 1929); 14, tutka oktididja (Raccoon in 1929); 15, hilis hoboia (Raccoon in 1929); 16, oïdjawa (Panther in 1929); 17, dog whipper.

18, medicine pots (1st position); 19, medicine pot for boys (2d position): 20, medicine pot for women (2d position); 21, drum; 22, box for tobacco; 23, place where medicine was laid before being used; 24, woodpile; 25, ball post. The dotted line marks the course pursued by the women when they entered to dance.

In this town[1] the Hathagas were the Bird, Alligator, Beaver, Bear, 344
Tàmi, and Wind. The Tcilokis were the Deer, Raccoon, Panther, 621
and perhaps Aktayatci. The two moieties were anciently exogamous. 796
The particular opponents of this town in regular ball games were 526
the people of Atasi but they also played against Eufaula Hopai,
Alabama, Hilibi, and Upper Eufaula. The Koasati Indians are said
to have divided up in the ball games, some playing on each side.

The names of the present officers are:

miko	Nokos Miko ("Bear Miko") (Bird)
asimbonaia	Tástánák Imała (Deer)
"	Tástánák Hadjo (Bird)
hilis haya	Katcutci ("Little Panther") (Panther)
hilis teálaba	Nokos Hadjutci ("Little Bear Hadjo") (Deer)
oidjawálgi	1. Fus Yáholotci ("Little Bird Yahola") (Bird)
	2. Hotálgutci ("Little Wind") (Bear, father Wind)
	3. Halák Hopai ("Potato Hopai") (Panther, father Raccoon, Raccoon and Potato belonging to the same phratry)
hilis hoboia	1. Itco Ilutci ("Little Deer Foot") (Raccoon, father Deer)
	2. Tálsi Yáhola (Bird)
ta'pala	1. Halák Yáhola ("Potato Yahola") (Bird, father Raccoon)
"	2. Hotálgi Hadjutci ("Little Wind Hadjo") (Bear, father Wind)
tutka oktidīdja ...	Itco-ili Imała ("Deer Foot Imała") (Raccoon, father Deer)
yáhaikas	1. Pahos Fiksiko (Raccoon, father Deer with which the Pahosa is affiliated)
"	2. Miko Yáhola (Bear)

If one town wished to play a match game with another, said my Pakan Tallahassee informant, they sent a man to that town with a ball stick, and when the people of town number two had reached an agreement they sent the ball stick back. My informant said that he then had a ball stick hanging up in his house which had been sent by the Alabama.

In the women's dance, the atása held by the leading woman is 344
red and has an eagle feather attached to it; that of the second is 621
white and has a feather of the fus hátki ("white bird"), a bird 796
found down by the creeks, attached to it. They used from 12 to
14 terrapin rattles. During the women's dance the two ta'palas stand
about where the two pots nearest the west bed are in the plan. Each
carries a wand called sĭ'dik-kika having a white feather fastened
to the end.

The dog whippers used in this dance are taken from any clan.

[1] [i.e., Pakan Tallahassee.--Analyst]

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About 54 men were present at the last preceding busk and 25 women and girls participated in the dance.

At the top of the pokàbi in this town was a horse skull. In scoring for this game they draw a line from the ball post to the nearest corner of the south cabin. When the skull is struck, 4 are scored; when the pole under the skull is struck, it counts 2 on the way out and 1 on the way back. They may count it as a game, however, by agreement when they reach the corner post. The women's tallies are marked on one side of the line, the men's on the other.

There is little difference except in detail between the above plan of Pakan Tallahassee and the several I recorded in 1912.

WIOGUFKI

The plan of Wiogufki is given in Figure 6 and a view of the ground from the southwest in Plate 3, Figure 2.

There is a little log house on the grounds in which the pots are stored when not in use to keep them from being broken. There never was a north cabin so far as my informant knew. On the upper end of the ball post is a cow skull.

The women walk four times around the fire; then their leaders stop opposite the singers and they begin to dance.

The hilis tcàlaba holds office for four years. In this town the place of the miko's henīha is taken by a tástánági. Indeed all of the tástánágis are considered the same as the henīhas. They are called "the people who are named" and are of the nature of lawmakers and assistants to the miko. The miko's tástánági is also the same thing as the yatika. There are no istatcagagis (retired leaders who acted as councillors), and no Creek town now has a hołibonaia. There are five water boys picked at random. At the front posts of each cabin are four poles with feathers tied to the ends for use in the "feather dance."

The two leading women in the women's dance carry atása. The principal function of the taʻpalas is to call the women up for their dance which they do four times. Each has a wand with a little white feather at the end. Their official positions do not end with the women's dance but continue to the end of the busk.

No medicine is now put on the firesticks but it was formerly done. The only medicine they use at the busk is the miko hoyanīdja, to which nothing is added.

The Hathagas and Tcilokis were the same as in Hilibi. They were exogamous, and if the exogamic law was violated the ears of the culprits were cut off.

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The towns of Wakokai, Tukpafka, and Talahasutci were all one with this. In regular ball games they always played against Alabama.

Comparison between the plan given above and the two obtained in 1912 shows considerable differences, but since one of the former was obtained from the same man, I think the explanation lies in the smallness of the town and the weakness of many of the clans which has resulted in many changes within a comparatively short time. Nevertheless there is a general correspondence and the allocation of clans to the moieties also agrees except in the case of

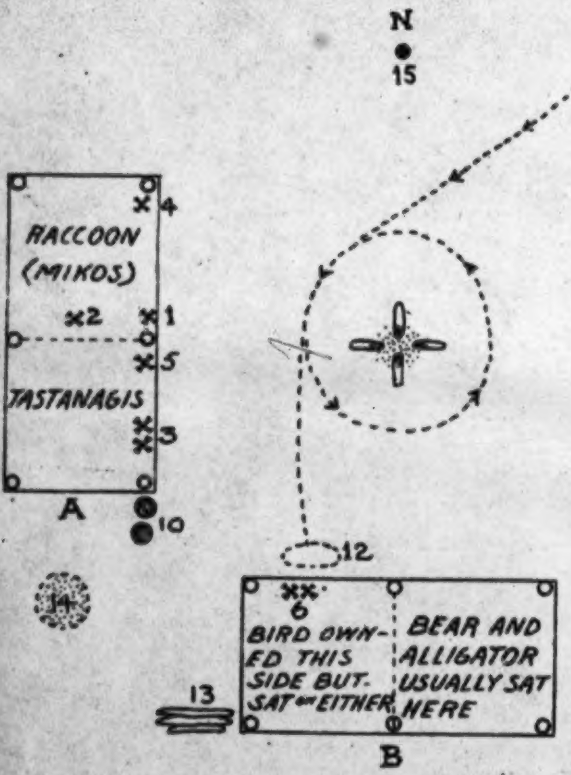
N
15
11
RACCOON (MIKOS)
×4
×2
×1
×5
TASTANAGIS
××3
A
10
14
12
THE DEER CLAN OWNED THIS CABIN BUT THE SONS OF THE RACCOON CLAN ALSO SAT IN IT.
××7
×9
×8
C
10
××6
BIRD OWNED THIS SIDE BUT SAT on EITHER
BEAR AND ALLIGATOR USUALLY SAT HERE
13
B

FIG. 6.—Square ground of Wiogufki.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Alligator); 2, hilis haya; 3, hilis tcálaba (Bear and Deer); 4, hilis hoboia (Panther); 5, a tástánági (instead of heniha) (Raccoon).

B. Whites' Bed: 6, yáhaikas (Deer).

C. Warriors' Bed: 7, ta'pala (Raccoon); 8, hilis hoboia (Deer); 9, tutka oktidldja (Deer).

10, medicine pots (near bed A for men; near bed C for women and boys); 11, point where women enter to dance; 12, point where women begin dancing; 13, woodpile; 14, ashes of old fires; 15, ball post.

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the Panther clan. This is explained by the fact that the Panther was anciently considered a White clan and later came to be regarded as Tciloki.

OKCHAI

Figure 7 shows the arrangement of this square and Plate 4, Figure 1, shows a view of it taken in winter,

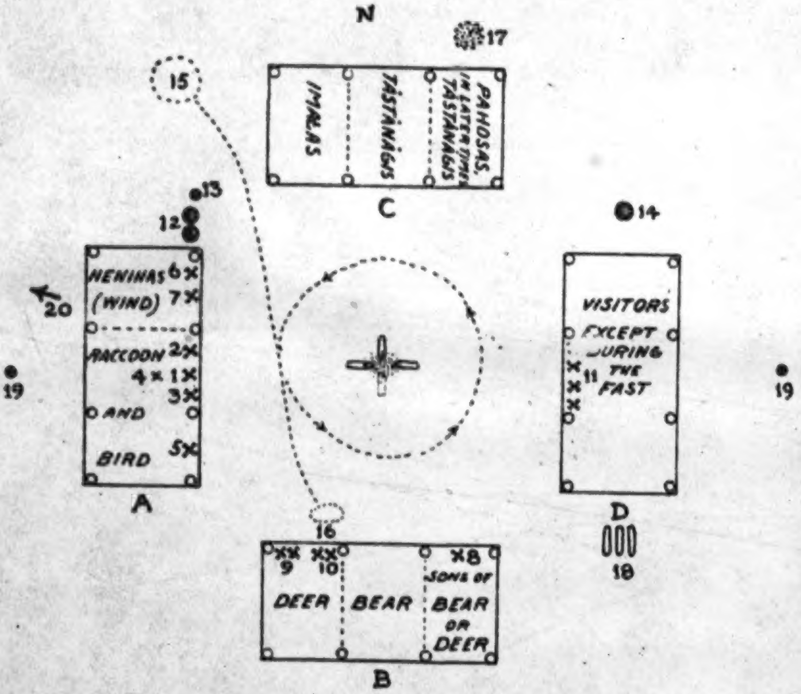
N
17
15
IMALAS
TASTANAGIS
PAHOSAS, IN LATER TIMES TASTANAGIS
C
13
12
14
HENIHAS (WIND)
6
7
RACCOON
2
4
1
3
AND
BIRD
5
20
19
A
VISITORS EXCEPT DURING THE FAST
11
19
D
18
16
9
10
8
DEER
BEAR
SONS OF BEAR OR DEER
B

FIG. 7.—Arrangement of square ground of Okchai.

A. Chiefs' Bed 1, miko (Raccoon formerly; Bear in 1929); 2, heniha (Deer); 3, yatika (Deer formerly; Wind in 1929); 4, hilis haya; 5, ta'pala (any clan); 6, hilis tcálaba (Bird); 7, tutka oktidīdja (Wind).

B. Henihas' Bed: 8, ta'pala (any clan); 9, hilis hoboia; 10, yáhaikas (any clan).

C. Warriors' Bed.

D. Youths' Bed: 11, oïdjawa (any clan).

12, medicine pots; 13, medicine pot for boys; 14, medicine pot for women; 15, point where women assemble preparatory to their dance; 16, point where women start dancing; 17, ashes of previous fires; 18, woodpile; 19, ball posts; 20, a spring lies in this direction.

The hilis tcálaba, ta'pala, and tutka oktidīdja changed every four years. The hilis haya was reappointed every four years.

Wiley Buckner, an old informant of mine, was the former yatika. The tutka oktidīdja in 1929 was Hotálgi Miko.

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The medicine was pounded up just in front of the pots at the north end of the chiefs' bed.

The fire was brought from Alabama in the great migration and new fire was lighted from it. They dug up the earth as deep as the arm would reach, put the fire in there, and made the new fire on top. This is the very spot at which they first placed their square in Oklahoma and it has not been moved. The squares of the kindred towns, Łáłogàlga and Àsilanabi, are not so old.

There were two poles with feathers on the ends at each of the front posts of the cabins all the way round.

Atása were borne by the two women who led in the women's dance.

The tástànàgis were law makers. They had charge of the rules governing the taking of medicine and if anyone broke one of these regulations they made him stay in the square ground all night without eating instead of breaking his fast that evening as was usual.

In the various beds of this square ground the " sons of the clan " can sit with their fathers.

The Hathagas and Tcilokis were the same as at Hilibi.

Their principal opponents in the ball games years ago were the Hilibi.

This arrangement agrees substantially with that obtained by me in 1912 (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., p. 234), the principal difference being in the location of the Bear and Bird clans. My earlier informants placed the Bird and Aktayatci in the middle of the south cabin and the Bear at the east end of the same, while the later ones said nothing of the Aktayatci but placed the Bird clan in the southern section of the west cabin and the Bear clan in the center of the south cabin, the sons of the Bear being located next to them on the east. The arrangement of this square must be taken in connection with the plans of Łáłogàlga and Àsilanabi.

ŁAŁOGÀLGA, OR FISH POND

For a plan of this ground, see Figure 8.

The tutka oktididja is appointed every four years but always from the Aktayatci clan. The hilis hoboia are chosen every four years and ordinarily from the Aktayatci and Bear clans but this is not necessarily the case. However, if one dies before his four years have expired he is replaced by someone of his clan. The hilis hoboia also act as the hilis tcàlaba.

Ta'palas are appointed only when needed. There are no special water carriers, the hilis hoboia calling upon any boys for this purpose whenever water is required.

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The two leaders among the women carry atåsa, that held by the first being colored red, that by the second white.

One of the two medicine pots contains pasa; the other the miko hoyanīdja along with wīlana, tutka hiliswa ("fire medicine"), which grows in wet places in swamps and has red flowers, tcåto håtkutci (four "little white rocks"), and tutka-tcok-hissi (green moss from an old fireplace).

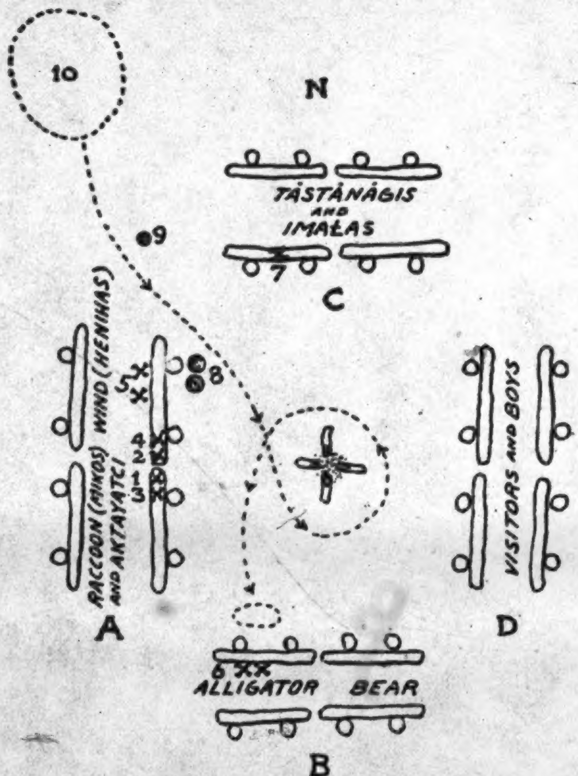
10
N
TÁSTÂNÁGIS
AND
IMAŁAS
9
7
C
WIND (HENIHAS)
RACCOON (MIKOS) AND AKTAYATCI
5
8
4
2
1
3
VISITORS AND BOYS
A
D
6
ALLIGATOR
BEAR
B

FIG. 8.—The square ground of Łałogålga, or Fish Pond.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Raccoon); 2, henīha (or 2d chief) (Wind); 3, asimbonaia or yatika (head speaker, drawn from any clan); 4, hilis haya (any clan); 5, hilis hoboia.
B. Citizens' Bed (Tåsikaiålgi intupa); 6, yåhaikas (no fixed clan).
C. Warriors' Bed: 7, tutka oktidīdja (Aktayatci).

8, medicine pots; 9, boys' medicine; 10, point where women assembled preparatory to the dance.

If one has eaten new roasting ears he is given a little pasa root to chew and then a little pasa in cold water of which he must take four drinks. Then he can take all of the medicines like the others.

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Some of the medicine is swallowed, the rest spit out. The doctor sees that the medicines are taken and fines those who neglect to do so.

There is a town policeman called istikonā'ha who carries out the orders of the miko against those who have refused to obey him, and collects fines from them. The incumbent in 1929 was Maxcy Alakotci. When I interviewed them they were using the tȧstȧnȧgi as the town miko.

The Hathagas are the Bear, Wind, Bird, and Alligator; the Tcilokis are the Raccoon, Aktayatci, Deer, and Potato.

The Aktayatci are said to have formed one phratry with the Raccoon.

In match games, they played against Tukabahchee, Atasi, Łapłȧko, Eufaula, Hilibi, and Kealedji. Alabama was formerly of the same fire but later drew away.

This year (1929) they did not use the pasa. The Ȧsilanabi square ground is arranged just like this one, but the Okchai differ from these two a little in the use of their medicines. It is thought that Ȧsilanabi is older than Łȧłogȧlga and that the latter branched off in order to get the extra money that was paid to its six representatives in the national assembly.

Except that there is more detail, the arrangement given here differs only slightly from that which I recorded in 1912 (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., p. 236). The only noteworthy divergence is in the position assigned to the Deer clan by my earlier informants, but this may be attributed to the fact that the miko apokta was then a Deer and his clan was probably brought over to the west cabin for that reason. As we should expect, the agreement is also close with the arrangement of the Ȧsilanabi ground though there are minor divergencies in the allocation of clans to the south cabin. All of my authorities agreed well in assigning clans to the two moieties, but the oldest of all of them thought that the Beaver and Alligator were probably Tciloki. This may have been the ancient arrangement.

TUKABAHCHEE

The plan of Tukabahchee square appears in Figure 9 and a view of it as it looked in 1912 is given in Plate 5, Figure 1.

The number of tȧstȧnȧgis is indeterminate. The toba mawīdine were officers not otherwise named who always remained in the cabins. There is one in each of the 12 beds except a part of the southeast cabin as indicated. They were selected from any clan, given names taken from the father's clan, and seated with the latter. Thus, if

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a man were a Deer and his father a Raccoon, they would give him a name from the Raccoon clan's names and seat him with them. After being so seated these officers were not obliged to do any further work connected with the busk.

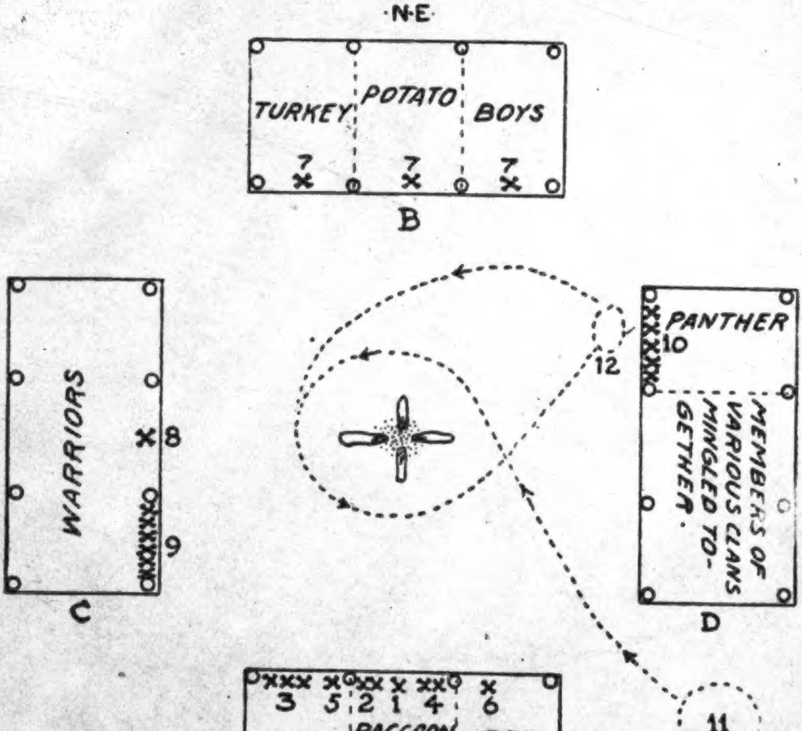
N·E
TURKEY
POTATO
BOYS
7
7
7
B
WARRIORS
8
9
C
PANTHER
10
12
MEMBERS OF VARIOUS CLANS MINGLED TO-GETHER.
D
3 5 2 1 4 6
RACCOON
2
WIND
BEAR AND BIRD
A
11

Fig. 9.—Tukabahchee square ground.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Raccoon); 2, mikos (substitutes) (Raccoon); 3, henīhas (Wind); 4, henīhas and yatikas; 5, hilis haya; 6, ta'pala.
B. Potato Bed; sometimes also called Youths' Bed: 7, 7, 7, toba mawidīne.
C. Warriors' Bed: 8, ta'pala; 9, tâstânâgi łâkâlgi.
D. Youths' Bed (Tcibânâgâlgi intupa): 10, yâhaikas; 11, point where women assemble preparatory to the dance; 12 point where the women start dancing.

The istatcagagis, most of whom sat in the southeast bed, were like a jury, or like a committee, to settle matters of routine. They comprised both men and women. The admittance of women to this select group is something which I heard from no other informant.

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A man was picked out of the bed of the henīhas to speak for others, *i. e.*, the yatikas were selected from the henīhas. None was used in the stomp dance. As payment for his services the yatika was given a deer hide and a ribbon. When he was wanted by the miko he was summoned four times, but he did not start until he had received the fourth call. He set a basket on the ground into which all of the tȧsikaias threw bits of tobacco to be taken to the singers for the women as payment for their services.

The hołibonaia was a special speaker used in the ball game and in war. The term asimbonaia was about equivalent to that of yatika. He was a head man chosen from among the tȧstȧnȧgis for almost any purpose. He listened to any message which the miko wished to give out and then repeated it aloud.

There were two hilis tcȧlaba who sat with their clans and were summoned whenever needed. One was a Raccoon and one a Bear.

There were two oktidīdja who sat with their clans or wherever they belonged until summoned to attend to the fire.

Four hilis hoboia, selected from any clans, were sent to gather the medicine.

All of the tȧsikaias shared in getting water.

The famous Tukabahchee plates were taken out and cleaned four years in succession and then left covered for four years.

The feather dance was discontinued at Tukabahchee when my informant was a small boy.

The three leading women in the women's dance carry atȧsa. The leading woman has an eagle feather on her atȧsa, the second a white crane feather, and the other the feather of a third bird, perhaps a goose. They start one at a time and when the third moves all the rest follow. After they have walked round the fire four times they begin to dance and circle the fire again six times.

The Hathagas were Bird, Wind, Bear, and Beaver; the Tcilokis were Turkey, Alligator, Raccoon, Deer, Panther, and any others.

In olden times the moieties were exogamous. The Raccoon and Potato were then brothers, or rather half brothers, but intermarriage between them is now common. Even today, however, the Beaver and Bird will seldom intermarry. The Bird was the "uncle" of the Beaver and the Beaver the former's "nephew."

A man's children called his father's clan "fathers." One can say anything he wishes to, however disrespectful, about his own clan, but he must not speak against his father's clan or permit anyone else to.

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The general arrangement is the same as that obtained from the father of my informant in 1911-12 (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., p. 244), but the stations here assigned to some of the individual officers are probably more nearly correct, particularly the locations of the mikos.

KEALEDJI

Figure 10 shows the Kealedji square.

The hoktâgi immiko, "women's chief," supervised the women's dance. There are now no regular water carriers. The imałas formerly sat in the north cabin, but now there are no officers so called. The beds are called by the names of the clans which occupy them. If the asimbonaia is wanted to deliver a speech, he is called over to the miko's seat for that purpose. For tâstânâgis the best men are chosen. The taʻpalas are changed every four years. In former times they had a regular four days' busk, but now it lasts for but one day and there is no feather dance.

In the match games they played against Okchai, Wiogufki, and Tulsa.

The Hathagas are Wind, Bear, Panther, and Turkey; the Tcilokis are Raccoon, Deer, and Aktayatci. In ancient times these moieties were exogamous.

The names of the present officers are as follows:

miko	Kasihta Yâhola (Raccoon)
henīha	Henīha Imałutci (Wind)
miko apokta	Kayomulgi (Raccoon)
hoktâgi immiko	Wiwohka Yâhola (Raccoon)
henīha	Oīkas Hadjo (Wind)
asimbonaia	Kōsa Fiksiko (Bear)
taʻpala	Tâlmutcâs Hadjo (Bear)
"	Alak Hadjutci (Turkey)
hilis tcâlaba	Kân Tcati (Wind)
" "	Itco Imała Fīksiko (Deer)
tutka oktidīdja	Ahali Imała
hilis hoboia	Tâłkōna Hadjo (Wind)
" "	Hotâlgi Fiksiko (Wind)
tâstânâgi	Tâstânâk Tcâpko
"	Tâstânâkutci
"	Inheniha (= henīha)
"	Tâłkōna Hadjo

The plan of the revived square ground of the Kealedji agrees in all essentials with the one given me in 1912 from memory by a very old man, except that in recent times the Deer clan seems to have lost its importance or died out. It is interesting to find that old

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and recent informants agree in assigning the Panther clan to the White moiety. They differ, however, regarding the position of the

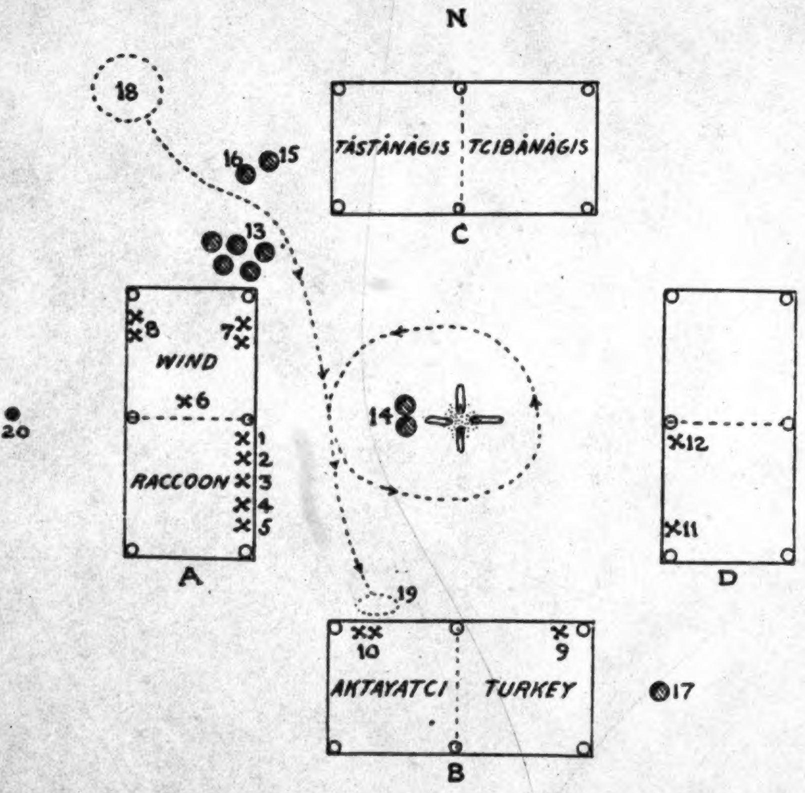

FIG. 10.—The Kealedji square ground.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Raccoon); 2, henīha (Wind); 3, miko apokta (Raccoon); 4, hoktāgi immiko (Raccoon); 5, henīha (Wind); 6, hilis haya (usually Raccoon; Wind in 1929); 7, hilis tcālaba (Deer and Wind); 8, hilis hoboia (Wind).
B. Youths' Bed: 9, ta'pala (Turkey); 10, yāhaikas.
C. Warriors' Bed.
D. White Bed: 11, asimbonaia (Bear); 12, ta'pala (Bear).

13, medicine pots (1st position); 14, medicine pots for those fasting (2d position); 15, medicine pot for boys (2d position); 16, medicine pot for girls (2d position); 17, medicine pot for women (2d position); 18, point where women assemble preparatory to the dance; 19, point where women start dancing; 20, ball post.

Turkey, which the earlier informant considered Tciloki and the later White. But this clan, together with the Alligator and Tāmi, is known to have been on one side in some towns and on the opposite in others.

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ŁAPŁÀKO

Figure 11 shows the plan of this ground.

The two pots of medicine were prepared where they are shown (nos. 4 and 5) and remained there all of the time. The Bird clan sat

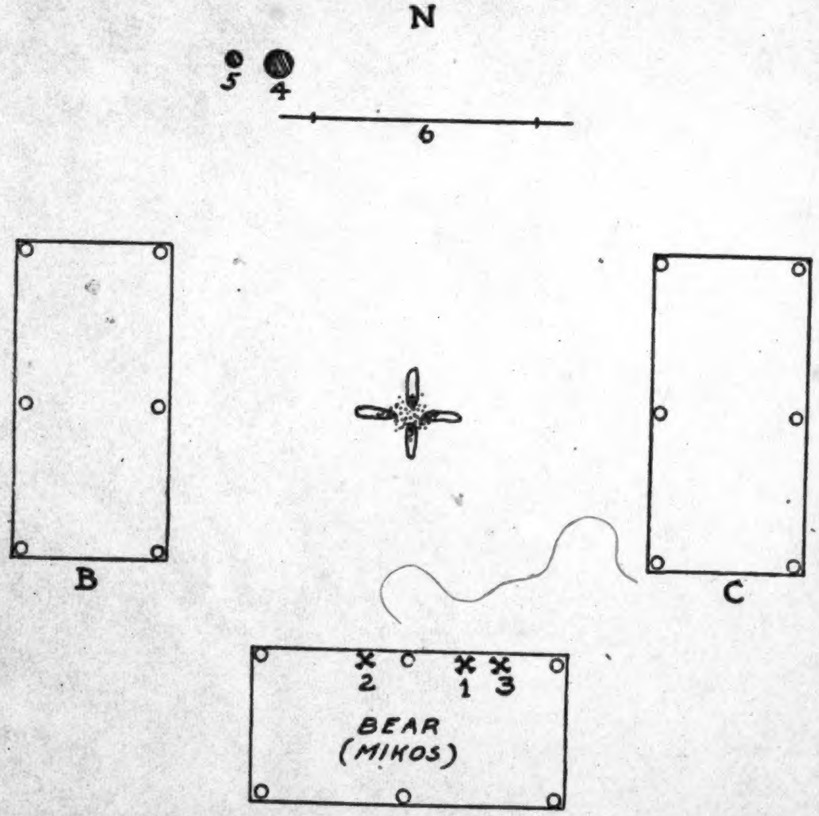

FIG. 11.—Square ground of Łapłàko.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Bear); 2, heniha or miko apokta (Bird); 3, yatika (sometimes seated here).

B. Warriors' Bed. This was usually occupied by middle aged men of various clans.

C. Citizens' Bed (Tàsikaiàlgi intupa). Occupied by various classes, including persons not properly citizens of the town but taking medicine there, men married in the town or adopted into it, and men whose fathers belonged to it.

4, a large pot of medicine for the fasters; 5, a small pot of medicine for the women and children; 6, rack for ball sticks.

anywhere. The yatika belonged to no regular clan, and at the present time there is no such officer. There are two hilis tcàlaba who occupy no special seats, and one hilis haya who is taken from any clan of a friendly town. Towns belonging to the other town moiety do not

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take medicine with them and in fact are not invited except in the case of individuals married into the town.

The Hathagas are the Bear (the most important of them), Bird, Beaver, and Wind; the Tcilokis are the Raccoon, Deer, Potato, Aktayatci, Panther, Alligator, etc. Here the Alligator, Turkey, and Beaver can intermarry; in Eufaula they could not. But probably this means that the Beaver could intermarry with the other two, as the Alligator and Turkey were seldom allowed to marry under any circumstances. The Bird and Beaver were classed together in Łapłako, but this group does not include the Bear or Wind. The Hathaga clans had the reputation of being progressive while the Tcilokis were full-bloods and reactionaries. This characterization probably followed the coming of the white people.

The towns of the opposite group were called Tålipoła, which means "foreign but not unfriendly."

The word Łapłako indicates a place where there are many marshes filled with canes. This town square, which had been discontinued, was revived in the year 1903 in this way. They had to prepare a ground in order to take medicine before a game with the Nuyaka Indians next year. Later this was improved with regular cabins, but it must have been inconspicuous or have been considered unimportant, as I heard nothing about it in 1912.

Łapłako and Atasi are now nearly fused on account of the number of marriages between individuals belonging to them. Before the Civil War the Łapłako had an Atasi Indian named Hotålgi Hadjo married among them as their hilis haya. One of the great men of Łapłako in former times was Jim Boy (Tåstånågi Imała) whom my informant remembers to have seen. He thinks he died just before the Civil War broke out. McKenney and Hall (History of the Indian Tribes of North America, vol. 2, pp. 71-74) give a portrait of this chief and a considerable account of his life. He was born in what is now Alabama in 1793 and accompanied the warriors of his town during the Creek War of 1813-14, but was too young for active participation. In the war with the Seminole he was one of the leaders of the Creek contingent which aided the Americans. The exact date of his death seems to be unknown.

The arrangement of the modern ground differs more from those described to me in 1912 (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., pp. 254 and 255) than any of the others. The first of the latter was obtained from a very old man who should have known the ancient arrangement well, but of course my interpreter and I may have misunderstood him. The cabins are at different points of the compass

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and more confusion is shown in the later organization, but they agree in stating that the miko belonged to the Bear clan and in placing that clan in the south cabin. My older informant allocated this clan with the Tciloki. This was probably an error on his part but he seemed to insist upon it.

They have had no busk since the Civil War and no women's dance, and the pasa is no longer used, only the miko hoyanīdja. The dances in the square are three stomp dances. Seven days before one of these the "broken days" are sent out and on the day when the sixth stick is thrown away they are all to be at the ground, while on the seventh they are supposed to be taking medicine. Seven days before the dance they also meet and pick out four clean young men, called hilis hoboia, men whose wives are not pregnant, who are not given to intoxicants, and who have not attended to the digging of a grave during the preceding month. These men gather four bundles of medicine (miko hoyanīdja) which they lay down with their tip ends toward the west. First they spread out a bed of leaves called lodja issi, "turtle leaves," which should be taken from hickory trees. The medicine is laid on top of these and more leaves are spread over it. On the morning of the fast day all of those who are to take medicine are supposed to present themselves at the square ground. The fire is built up so that it will not go out all day. Early in the morning the two hilis tcȧlaba prepare the medicine, first the medicine for the women and children and then that for the adult men. This is taken four times during the day, the fourth time between one and two o'clock. Before they take the medicine the yatika announces, on behalf of the chief, that each of those intending to take it is to get a stick and throw it into a blanket. These sticks are counted and the yatika announces the number. Four times (or sometimes twice) during the day the men who are to take medicine with the exception of the officials (the mikȧlgi, yatika, hilis haya, and the two-ta'pala) go out to get firewood so as to be ready for the dance that night. Four men are selected to keep watch of the fasters during the night, to see that no one sleeps or breaks his fast, or drinks or goes with a woman. That is why the numbers are taken. These four men are called istikonā'ha, "men taking away," because they take away the hat of anyone found sleeping (and treat similarly anyone who breaks the taboos in other ways). The hat they carry to the miko and, when the owner comes to get it, he is fined.

After they have taken medicine for the fourth time, they go to the creek for a bath and then return to the square. The yatika

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talks to them telling them to take care of themselves all of that night, and then they scatter to the camps to eat. Before sundown, however, they are supposed to be back on the ground. The yatika calls to them four times and by the fourth time they are to be in their seats. When all are in their places, the two taʻpala are selected. The yatika makes a speech on behalf of the miko, calling upon his hearers not to act in an unfriendly way toward the outside friends who are about to be admitted to the dance, not to take liquor, to behave themselves all through the night, not to fight, and so on. This speech is addressed to the town people and outsiders alike. After it the fasters dance four times and then the visitors are admitted. That "kills the fast." All through the day the square is to be kept clean with the idea that the fasters will in consequence be clean. They go up to take the medicine two by two, and those who are ceremonially unclean take the medicine last. They dance until about daybreak. Then all belonging to the town go down to the branch and bathe, after which they return and sit in their respective beds. Then a collection may be taken to defray their expenses and they settle other matters. The night before, the chief of a friendly town may have announced a dance, and, if so, the announcement is now made and advice given as to how they are to help their friends. This advice is uttered by the yatika, speaking for the miko, and he then gives a general talk, advising his people not to use liquor, not to break the laws, and to be good citizens in every sense of the word. Then they disband for the year.

HILIBI

A plan of Hilibi square is shown in Figure 12 and a general view of the ground as it appeared in the winter of 1911-12 in Plate 5 Figure 2.

Two poles with white feathers attached were at each front post. These were used in the " feather dance " and were called " the path," because the path was to be white.

When there are visitors the owners of the east cabin move elsewhere in order to make room for them. When the south cabin is overcrowded, some of its occupants move into the east cabin. In this town the clans were always considerably mixed up in the beds. The taʻpalas can sit anywhere. The tutka oktidīdja does not have a particular seat on account of his official position. He is appointed every four years. The tutka dīdja, who starts the fire, is identical with the hilis haya.

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If a man whose father is of the Aktayatci, the miko's clan, is given a busk name, he is brought to the mikos' bed and given a seat there.

The Hathagas are the Bear, Bird, Alligator, Beaver, Turkey, and Wind; the Tcilokis are the Panther, Potato, Deer, Aktayatci, and evidently the Raccoon. The Alligator and Bird are considered as practically one clan.

The two leaders in the women's dance carry ātâsa.

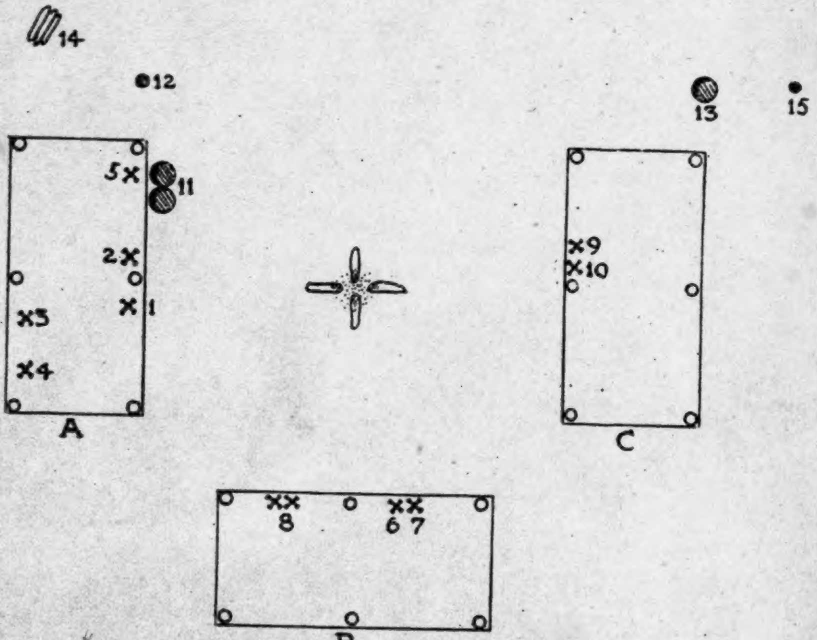

Fig. 12.—Square ground of Hilibi.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1 miko (Aktayatci); 2, henīha (Alligator); 3, hilis haya (Raccoon in 1929); 4, ta‘pala (Bear); 5, hilis tcâlaba (Bear in 1929).
B. Raccoons' Bed: 6, hilis hoboia; 7, tutka oktidīdja (Raccoon in 1929); 8, yâhaikas (any clan).
C. Cabin used by visitors:- 9, ta‘pala (Alligator); 10, hilis hoboia (Alligator).
11, medicine pots; 12, medicine pot for boys; 13, medicine pot for women; 14, woodpile; 15, ball post.

The history of this town is as follows. It was founded by a man of the Aktayatci clan who went off to live by himself and then put up a ball post. Many women belonged to his family and he had numerous visitors, some of whom married these women so that it soon grew into a large band of which he was probably the first miko. Anyhow that is the way the Aktayatci came to have the town. After stomp dances had been held there for some time, more visitors came

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to join them and it grew still larger. Because it was built up very rapidly, its founder called it Hilibi, which means "hurry" (hila'pkis, "I make haste"). Since it was an "illegal" band, a tâlwa fâtcasīgo ("town deviating from correctness"), all the clans do not have regular places, having been drawn from so many other bands.

The following notes on some personal names contained in the town roster give an interesting insight into the manner in which totemic names were bestowed:

Fos Hâtki Imała ("White Bird Imała"), so named because he belonged to a White clan, the Wind.

Halak Hopaie. He belonged to the Bear clan, but his father belonged to the Raccoon, hence the name Halak or Ahalak ("Potato"), since both these clans are Tciloki.

Pahos Fiksiko. He belonged to the Wind clan, but his father was a Deer and the Pahosa is of the same phratry as the Deer.

As shown by the native story above given this town was not supposed to be ancient or to have a firmly fixed town organization, and, while it was older than the Hilibi people themselves believed, it seems to have preserved the irregularities which might naturally be associated with a new town. Not improbably the tradition of irregularity preserved the fact. At the same time there is a general agreement between the plan here given and that which I obtained in 1912 (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., p. 258). The mikos' cabin is to the west, and the mikâlki and henihâlgi were of the same clans, Aktayatci and Alligator respectively. The Alligator and Turkey were classed as Whites from association with the Bird by my later informants, but the earlier ones gave them as Tciloki.

ALABAMA

This was a very simple square of exceptional arrangement as shown in Figure 13.

The Alabama were one of the incorporated tribes with a language distinct from Creek. The clan names in Alabama are: Mahaleha (Wind), Sawaha (Raccoon), Aktayatciha (Aktayatci), Hâtcuntcobaha (Alligator), Konoha (Skunk), Nitaha (Bear), Koīha (Panther), Fociha (Bird), Fitōha (Turkey), Ofâtaha (Beaver).

All of the officers were brought over to the chiefs' bed. Men of the Alligator, Bear, and Aktayatci have been mikos and a man of the Skunk clan was once the henīha. There is no regular rule for either position.

The Hathagas were the Wind, Bear, Panther, Skunk, and Raccoon; the Tcilokis were the Bird, Beaver, Turkey, Alligator, and Aktayatci. The Wildcat was the same as the Panther.

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One of the greatest Alabama Indians now remembered was Kȧntcati Yȧhola (Alabama name Tcīsōki), who was the hilis haya. He was born in Alabama and came west with his tribe. He lived until about 1866.

The above plan and the three others I obtained in 1912 and the years immediately following (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., pp. 263-264) show considerable minor variations but all agree in locating the chiefs' bed in the east and the warriors' bed in the west. Most of them also place the Bear and Panther clans in the latter and the Wind, Aktayatci, and Deer in the former, where they are noted at all. In allocating the clans the above informant agrees with the older ones except regarding the Panther which the men first consulted asserted was Tciloki while it is here given as a White clan, but this is a clan which has been placed on both sides.

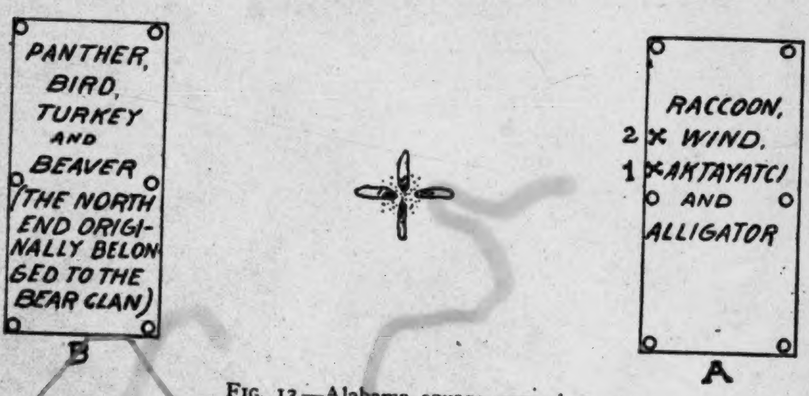
PANTHER, BIRD, TURKEY AND BEAVER (THE NORTH END ORIGINALLY BELONGED TO THE BEAR CLAN)
B
RACCOON,
2 × WIND,
1 × AKTAYATCI
AND
ALLIGATOR
A

FIG. 13.—Alabama square ground.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Wind); 2, henīha (Raccoon).
B. Warriors' Bed.

KASIHTA

For the plan of Kashita square ground, see Figure 14.

There should be two hilis tcȧlaba, drawn from the Alligator clan, but they are not employed now. Four hilis hoboia for the pasa, four for the miko hoyanīdja, and one tutka oktidīdja are chosen by the miko without reference to clan. There is no definite body of water carriers. Two ta'palas are selected from any clan to serve just for the night. They carry sticks called reels, and their function is to invite the dance leaders to lead dances and see that all take part. There is only one singer for the women's dance. He sits behind the miko.

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In 1901 the old square ground was given up and the new one was established in June, 1920. Because the new generation was weak one cabin was cut out. The Coweta square is said to have been the same as that of Kasihta.

Every time anything is brought in or anything repaired they dance all night because thus the two things are joined together, just as two days are united by the night on which they dance. Formerly dances were held every Saturday night, but hard times have put an end to them. The dance which was being held when I paid my visit was because they were then putting up a ball post.

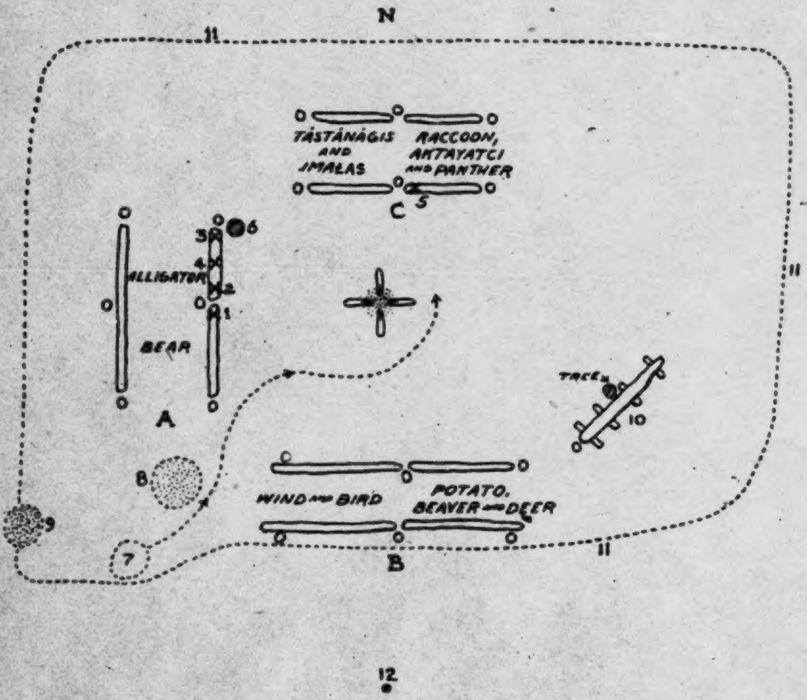

FIG. 14.—Kasihta square ground.

A. Chiefs' Bed: 1, miko (Bear); 2, heníha (Alligator); 3, hilis haya (seat when on duty); 4, asimbonaia.
B. Whites' Bed (Henihálgi intupa), or "Cabin of the Greater Kings."
C. Warriors' Bed: 5, asimbonaia (Aktayatci).

6, medicine pot; 7, point where women assemble before dancing; 8, trash heap; 9, where ashes of old fires were placed; 10, split log where are seated those young men who have broken the rules and are in consequence placed here as a punishment before being allowed to mix with the rest of the people; 11, line of sweepings (tádjo) marking limit of square ground; 12, ball post.

The Hathagas are the Wind, Beaver, Bird, and Deer; the Tcilokis are the remaining clans, yet it is said that the Bear, Alligator, and

344 •621 796 Wind were of the same "class." Under the present law they can all marry outside of third cousins.

The Kasihta defeated the Coweta three times in the ball game, the last time in 1878, and after that they took them under their jurisdiction and they have played on the same side.

Comparison of the plan of the new Kasihta with the plans of the earlier grounds secured by Gatschet and myself (42d Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., pp. 266-268) shows that the old order has been fairly well maintained allowing for the disappearance of some clans, particularly the Fish clan. Incidentally I wish to correct an erroneous statement in my report in which I misquoted Gatschet to the effect that the Kasihta miko belonged to the Alligator clan. While the Alligator clan occupied half of the chiefs' cabin, the miko himself has always been taken from the Bear and was stated to have been so by Gatschet. The allocation of clans to the moieties by my recent informants contains a number of difficulties, for they seem to have placed the Bear among the Tciloki, which is unlikely, especially as it was said to belong to the same "class" as the Alligator and Wind. My own earlier authorities also classed the Beaver and Deer as Tciloki.

177 173 The following information will be interesting to those who wish to study acculturation processes in intangibles. It was told me by the Indian considered best able to speak for the town,

> The original four cabins represented the New Jerusalem with its 12 gates. The busk goes back to the time when Jacob set up the altar at Bethel and is traced from him and his 12 sons. All of the Indians in America entered in two migrations, one at the time of Jacob (1500-2000 B. C.) and the second 600 years later, at the time when Jerusalem was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar. Then they talked face to face with the Great Spirit because they were more obedient to God than any other tribe, but about 700 years after the Messiah they got away from the original law on account of desire for riches. Then they lost the old law and asked for a new government, and by holding a ceremony in midsummer, in the month of July, it was given to them. That new law taught them to tell the truth and be honest with their fellowmen and to raise their children in such obedience, not to touch anything that did not belong to them, not to make a false statement. That is the law which we are trying to follow.

177 609 He added:

> We have a hard time because the white men have failed to fulfill their part of the agreement. They have strong laws that we can't begin to understand and our customs are about choked out through grafters who claim to have bought the claims of the allottees on which our squares are located. In order to hold their grounds several towns have to pay rent year after year. If the law makers would cooperate with us and give us full privileges we would raise more substantial, law-abiding young men and young women. That was the custom and the wish of our forefathers.